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ABSTRACT

The definition of cultural pluralism set forth in this book emphasizes the existence of distinct cultures that have, as groups, distinct religious, ethical systems, authority systems, usages in rearing children, languages, gestural systems and ways of giving accounts of, and valuing satisfactory or unsatisfactory human performance. The introduction discusses two social movements that influence cultural pluralism in terms of the following: accrediting and licensing; management; data-gathering, and resource allocation; and, forming or reforming institutions. A redefinition of cultural pluralism is attempted in the first article, where it is noted that, as used and understood today, the concept is meaningless and dangerous. It is suggested that a redefinition will require renaming it cultural social economic pluralism. The second article addresses traditional and alternative models in higher education and cultural pluralism. This study shows the broad range of approaches now in use in the pursuit of, or in the name of cultural pluralism in higher education and teacher training. Here, it is noted that the test of cultural pluralism is more directly dependent upon the reality of the position in society of subculture groups than on the state of mind of the majority population. The future of education and linguistic and cultural policy are addressed in the third article. The book concludes with a cultural pluralism bibliography. (Author/AM)

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BADGES AND INDICIA OF SLAVERY:

CULTURAL PLURALISM REDEFINED

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Lincoln, Nebraska

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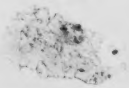
"If ideologies are not understood in terms of economics, then these ideologies are not understood at all." Harold Cruse, ***Rebellion or Revolution?***

"German and Frenchman, Irishman and Englishman, Jews and Russians–into the crucible with you all! God is making the American. . . . The real American has not yet arrived. He is only in the crucible. I tell you–he will be the fusion of all the races, the coming superman." from Zangwell's play, "The Melting Pot"



"We are becoming Americans by learning to be ashamed of our parents." an educator of Italian descent quoted by Michael Bakalis

INTRODUCTION

By Paul A. Olson

The Cultural Pluralism Committee of the Study Commission

The Cultural Pluralism Committee of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers developed the central policy and theoretical basis for the Commission's position on cultural pluralism. The committee is composed of the following members: Antonia Pantoja, Barbara Blourock, Victor Alicea, A. Reyes Mazon, Edwin Claudio, Cyril Tyson, Joseph Aguayo, Marilyn Gittell, Orlando Taylor, Mario Fantini, Jeanette Feely and Robert Dumont. During the period of its life, the Study Commission's Cultural Pluralism Committee has composed a number of papers on various aspects of cultural pluralism policy, some of which are published in this book, and some of which are available from the Study Commission for use with audiences wishing to use them on a more specialized basis.

Earlier in the commission's life (August, 1972), the chairperson of the Cultural Pluralism Committee presented to the Study Commission a definition of "cultural pluralism" which was accepted by the full Study Commission at its August, 1972, meeting. This statement has guided the commission's actions vis-á-vis "cultural pluralism" since. The statement is as follows:

The educational system of this country fails to educate all its students, especially non-white students. Students are not taught to apprehend concepts, to understand, analyze and digest, and most important, to question. The goal of the school system is the maintenance of the ***status quo*** *with respect to cultural, racial, sexual, and economic class, superiority-and-inferiority relations. Too often, America's school systems promulgate the erroneous theory that some people are better than others—that homogeneity is better than heterogeneity. The theory that some culture's forms of behavior are better than others, that one sex is superior to the other, is transmitted to the student body through the selection of curriculum content, books, texts, and symbols, and school personnel (including administration). The family, the general environment of the community, TV and media also disseminate the idea.*

The aim of this pressure so created is to shape all Americans into what

people recognize as an "Anglo Saxon Protestant" model–to force upon women roles of passivity, dependence and fear of aspiration. The schools, in looking among different races, cultures, life styles, and personal identities, have never recognized that each is as valuable as the other–have never attempted to accommodate these differences in their curricula, staffing, and governance patterns.

The creation of a model "preferred American" from the variety of people who form the U.S. requires a process which melts away all differences in languages, life styles, religions, and any other cultural characteristics. For those whose skin color or other characteristics will not permit melting into the preferred group, the process penalizes and stigmatizes. The school has the primary responsibility for transmitting the model to each generation. The rest of the institutions of society including the mass media, politics, religion and industry reinforce and reward adherence to the model.

Two centuries of indoctrination in the "preferred/unpreferred" ideology have resulted in a substantial assimilation of many white European immigrants who are not from northern Europe and the development of other "minorities," both the visible minorities and Eastern European ethnics who carry a language or other visible characteristics. The very serious negative results of the model are evidenced in the United States:

(1) The development of a preferred group whose members enjoy "equality," "justice," "democracy" and the rights and privileges which the American dream promises with the exclusion of the unpreferred;

(2) The loss of the country's variety of cultures and the enrichment which might have resulted for the country;

(3) The emergence of marginal people with the resulting alienation;

(4) The development of competition and hostility among ethnic groups;

(5) The perpetuation of religious discrimination;

(6) The movement toward a mono-lingual country.

Although the majority society demands conformity from the minority, it does not permit them entry into the mainstream. More perversely it places

the blame and guilt for these peoples' failures on the victims. The perversion is further compounded when the efforts of the minorities to separate in order to find their own strength is met with alarm, anger and hostility. The results of this paradox have been the development of:

(1) An economic system where minorities are unemployed or hold the least desirable jobs;

(2) A number of groups called by the majority society "the poor," "the disadvantaged," "the culturally deprived," etc.;

(3) The civil rights revolution of the sixties when oppressed minorities, particularly blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Indians, gained an awareness of their victimization;

(4) An attitude of rejection and anger in the "unpreferred" towards the educational system and their conclusion that they must either control the school systems or establish alternative systems.

Meaningful pluralism requires a situation in society where individuals and groups can function successfully in one, two, or more languages and cultural styles and where individuals can abide by and function successfully adhering to different customs and religions, and to less crippling class and sexual stereotypes than those accepted today. It requires a society where no one race, sex, culture, or class is preferred over another. Certain conditions must be set before we can endeavor to reach the ultimate goal of the kind of pluralism sought here:

(1) A period will be needed to develop the conditions where cultural pluralism will be successfully established;

(2) There must be a rejection of all concepts and theories of "conformity to the preferred model";

(3) Opportunities must be offered and supported, financially and morally, for "unpreferred groups" to come together for the purpose of undoing the damage caused by their being constantly placed in positions of "unpreferredness." They will need the time to put their "houses together," to eradicate self-hate, and to acquire a positive self image. If and when these groups wish to resume relationship with a pluralistic national environment they can do so from a position of strength; those who wish to remain

separate must be respected in their decision.

(4) Opportunities must be created for "preferred groups" to confront their illusions of "being better" and to realize the evil of their arrogance. They must learn to deal with their prejudices and acquire a healthier self image. They, as members of the majority, must behave in congruence with American declarations of "democracy," "law," and "justice" for everybody.

The School System

Cultural pluralism can be made a reality if the school system is used as a positive tool to teach it through its educational efforts and behaviors:

(1) Educational personnel (administrators, teacher-trainers, teachers, guidance staff) must be oriented away from treating people as "preferred" and "unpreferred" toward a vigorous encouragement of pluralism. Behaviors and attitudes which move in this direction should be rewarded.

(2) Educational philosophies, curricula, materials and methods must be developed to create and encourage a pluralistic attitude in existing institutions of teacher training.

(3) At the same time, new institutions based on the concept that all cultures have a right to institutions which reflect their values, language, authority system and way of life of all cultures in the U.S. must be created.

(4) "Consubstantiality" between the school and the community must be made a reality. That is, the interests, goals and chemistry of the schools and the home must reflect each other in a way which enhances each. (The use of religious terminology which suggests two individuals "having the same substance" is deliberate. School and home, clan, or whatever the agent of informal education is, should be "of one substance.")

(5) Where "unpreferred" groups constitute a majority of a school district, they should control the schools. Legislation should ensure and support respect for this concept.

(6) *In instances where unpreferred groups must develop their own alternative schools, reverue monies and financial support must be made available for such schools.*

(7) *The need for ethnic "consubstantiality" between client and professional in helping relationships (teacher-student, counselor-student, psychiatrist or psychologist-client, social worker-client) must be accepted. The acceptance of "help" is not possible when the client or learner is a member of the "unpreferred" group and views the "helper" who is a member of the "preferred" group, as a part of the oppressive system.*

It is the right of every child to acquire basic educational skills in his own language and, in so doing, utilize the cognitive and value systems underlying that language. At the same time, non-pluralistic views of language exist in both the American school and general society. For this reason, many linguists have asserted that the control of English, at least as a tool language, is desirable for survival within the present social, political, and educational systems of the United States. Any real pluralist will strongly support the concepts of bilingual and bidialectal education within the general framework of multi-cultural education. Indeed, bilingual, bidialectal-multicultural education is perhaps the greatest present-day educational priority in communities containing a substantial number of minority group members. This type of education is neither "remedial" nor "compensatory" and does not presume to make up "deficiencies" in children, but rather recognizes the legitimacy of their differences. Further, it views bilingual children as **advantaged** *not* **disadvantaged**, *and seeks to develop bilingualism as a precious asset and not a stigmatized behavioral characteristic.*

If the nation wishes to implement an enlightened bilingual program, it will do the following:

(1) *It will encourage speakers of other languages and dialects, if they wish, to attend schools where Standard American English can be acquired as a "second" or "tool" language or dialect. The form of English to be expected ought to reflect the influences generated by the "home" language or dialect. Several approaches may be used for achieving this goal; however, the precise approach to be used in a given school or community ought to be determined by linguistic data and parent wishes.*

(2) *Speakers of Standard English dialects ought to be able to attend*

schools where they (or their parents) will be able to exercise the option of requesting the acquisition of other languages or dialects as a second language. This goal is not best accomplished in the same physical settings as those where goal 2 is being pursued.

(3) Teachers in bilingual, bicultural schools ought to possess a bilingual, bicultural background, having shared the life chances of the group(s) that they teach (state and federal funds must be designated for the training of bilingual teachers and the development of bilingual curricula).

(4) Parents should be involved in a decision-making role in the development of all phases of the bilingual, bicultural program, specifically in the design, implementation and evaluation of the program.

(5) Poverty must not be a criterion for the use of the funds or for participation in these programs.

This statement was adopted as a guiding statement of recommended policy by the full Study Commission at its Wingspread meeting in August, 1972. In following up the statement, the commission has endeavored to find and foster institutions which are "consubstantial" with their communities and which have some of the characteristics which the statement postulates for "ideal" institutions. This effort has led to several actions:

(1) Dr. Pantoja and a group from the Puerto Rican community founded Universidad Boricua, a Puerto Rican culture-based institution located in Washington and New York which has subsequently received support from the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education.

(2) The Study Commission entered into a relationship with the American Indian Higher Education Consortium which led to researches by the consortium into such areas as Indian-controlled accrediting, use of Indian-controlled community schools for teacher training, and development of liberal arts-education curricula "consubstantial" with community needs on the various reservations and in some urban Indian areas.

(3) The Southwest Network coordination developed the beginnings

of a National Consortium of Chicano Alternative Institutions, including most of the predominantly Chicano higher education institutions in the country—to develop agendas somewhat similar to AIHEC's but also some peculiar to the Chicano community. Since clear authority structures comparable to the tribal council in this context do not exist, notions of a Chicano identity and strategy may take many forms. In part this is because of the quite various histories which "La Raza" people have had in New Mexico, in California, in Texas, in Colorado and in part because of the differing relations between Hispano-Catholic and Mestizo-Aztecan traditions extant in various parts of "Aztlan."

(4) The Chicago Network Coordinator, Edythe Stanford, working with Dean Paul Mohr, undertook to explore the legal impediments preventing many traditional black institutions from serving the black community in a fashion specific to the needs of traditional black culture. Specifically, the Chicago Network did research on the implications of the Pratt decision (which requires the Southern states to come up with unitary "white-black" higher education systems and which appears to be about to be "used" in connection with state "1202 Planning" to erode the right of black colleges to have their own culture-specific curricula, their own professional schools, their own community base, and their own nation-building tools).

All of these actions by the Study Commission directorate or its networks stemmed in one way or another from an effort to give significance to the cultural pluralism groups and to the commission's "definition of cultural pluralism." Some members of the Cultural Pluralism Committee had hoped to get similar work under way in the networking of "unmeltable ethnic" institutions, but unfortunately funds did not stretch that far. Michael Novak and others have, independent of Study Commission funds, developed in the country some consciousness of the unique role which these institutions can play.

Definitions of Cultural Pluralism

It may be useful to contrast the conception of cultural pluralism

announced in this book with that which has appeared in earlier literature on cultural pluralism. A standard statement on cultural pluralism is that set forth by Milton Gordon:

> The system of cultural pluralism has frequently been described as "cultural democracy" since it posits the right of ethnic groups in a democratic society to maintain their communal identity and subcultural values. However, we must also point out that democratic values prescribe free choice not only for groups but also for individuals. That is, the individual as he matures and reaches the age where rational decision is feasible should be allowed to choose freely, whether to remain within the boundaries of community or break out . . . change . . . move away, etc. Realistically, it is probably impossible to have a socialization process for the child growing up in a particular ethnic group that does not involve some implicitly restrictive values. (Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, New York, 1964, pp. 262-63)

What is crucial in such a statement is the notion of "cultural pluralism" as respect between individual man and man, woman and woman, across differences of cultures. The notion that cosmopolitanism and economy might be restrictive is never mentioned. That the respect advocated may tend to obliterate the culture-bearer's sense of his own group is also not mentioned. Black Elk knows that when he gives up his exclusively Sioux "great vision" for the syncretic ghost dance with its "two sticks," he is giving up the power to restore his nation's hoop. The price of syncretic pluralism is sense of culture and the culture itself which one practices. Cultural pluralism of this sort has led to the proliferation of the prophets of ethnic cooking, Columbus days, and Pulaski skyways. It has not led to latter-day Passovers or Frederick Douglass' "fists-to-the-oppressor's face" on to the picturing of revived Atzlan's or latter-day "Declarations of Independence" where tyranny was flourishing and destroying minorities. Syncratic culture has led to pluralistic people who—in the words of Tom Cook of *Akwasasne Notes*—are "proud of their heritage" but are unwilling to "be their heritage."

The definition of "cultural pluralism" set forth in this book is a definition of "*cultural* pluralism." The emphasis is on the existence, in this land and others, of distinct cultures—having, as groups, distinct religions, ethical systems, authority systems, usages in rearing children, languages, gestural

systems, and ways of giving accounts of, and valuing, satisfactory or unsatisfactory human performance. Such groups also share distinct interests which they ought not to sell for a mess of "respect." Justice Douglas has put the conception beautifully in his opinion in De Funis; he includes, as a factor in the establishment of any proper law school admissions policy, an "applicant's cultural background, perception, ability to analyze and *his or her relation to groups*."

The relationship between the effort to establish impersonal orderly processes which allow world-wide groups having a different character to be governed by "the same procedures" and local groups which may aspire to be governed by different norms than those used by their managers or conquerors is the theme of many works of art–from Confucius to Fanon. In the Western world the tension is set down archetypally by Virgil in his contrast between the Trojans and the Italic people, a contrast which symbolizes the difference between empire and province, between the imperial management norms–law, fiscal procedures, etc.–which make possible orderly centralized government and Italic customs which make life interesting, full of variation, appealing to one's sense of identity and adjusted to the genius loci. Virgil himself characterizes both polarities beautifully:

> The Empire: Rome the renowned [shall] fill earth with her empire and heaven with her pride, and gird about seven fortresses with her single wall . . . Be thy charge, O Roman, to rule the nations . . . to ordain the law . . .
>
> (*Aeneid VI*)
>
> The Province: In these woodlands dwelt fauns and nymphs sprung of the soil and a tribe of men born of stocks and hard oak who had neither law nor grace of life . . . but were nurtured by the forest boughs and the hard living of the huntsman.
>
> (*Aeneid VIII*)

The province, with its subtle and various implicit norms, its flexible customs, its clearer responses to the ecology of the region, its desire for

separate nationhood, and its dependence on informal customary, rather than coercive formal, means of shaping behavior has never been satisfied to be part of the empire. The two kinds of ways of "looking" are reflected in medieval law in the contrast between "natural law," understood as an abstract examination of what the human species is (what kings and parliaments were supposed to do when they enacted "positive law"), and "customary law," understood as the "laws of peoples"—the rules set up by people in the region as they interacted with each other and nature. The tension has always existed. It has remained, however, for our generation to destroy the province and make empire everything.

The Arts of Empire: Some History

In the last few decades, the Western World has developed the arts of empire to a magisterial perfection never before known by western man. What Raymond Callahan has called "the cult of efficiency" has permeated American industry, government, and schools. Particularly has this been the case in the United States since around the time of the First World War. A very intense American chauvinism and a universal application of Taylor's "time and motion" principle to education made survival difficult for the many communities which did not accept the language, management procedures, workways, schooling values, and methods of relating deemed "American" and "efficient" and practiced or advocated throughout the United States. This is not to say that "minority societies" of all sorts were not pressured earlier. Michael Katz and Colin Greer have documented the extent to which "school reform" in the North was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries promoted by business and industrial interests who shared with school reformers a common view that the industrial masses needed to be "uplifted," their families strengthened, and the adults and children of their groups suited for productive industrial labor through "schooling." Connected to this "top-down reform" was the centralization of the big city school system (particularly to deliver it from ward politics), the cutting down of the number of school board members, and the development of "at-large" big city school board elections. As the movement grew after World War I, intelligence tests normed to success in an industrial society were created by Thorndike. Vocational and academic tracks having a view to providing a ready, self-disciplined and industrial mass were brought into existence. This kind of reform did not arrive in some rural midwestern and southern areas until the 50's and 60's. We are, in short,

talking about a century-long process of regimenting organic communities to, in the words of James O'Toole, produce perfect industrial man through offering an 'anticipatory mirror, a perfect introduction to industrial society'—and to its inhumanities.

One can trace the curve of the eradication of the provinces by looking at emblems of their destruction: such events as when the Irish were forced into the common schools in their area; when Indian reservations were forced to come under the "Indian Allotment Act" (and Indians forced to send their children to BIA schools); when Tuskegee or any other local black college was forced to abandon its "in-community programs" and become a conventional higher education institution; when universal education was prescribed for the South; when the laws against the public institutional use of foreign languages (particularly German and Spanish) were passed.

Now two moves are afoot in America; one, a move to prescribe everything that school does and extend the boundaries of "empire" as deeply into the human psyche as possible; the other, a great unwinding to make the province free to have its own culture, religion, education, authority—even its own technology and industry. It may be useful to characterize these two movements independently. Both movements turn on what is to be done in the areas of (1) accrediting and licensing; (2) management, data-gathering, and resource allocation; and (3) forming or reforming institutions.

Accrediting and Licensing

Let us begin with accreditation. The teams which are sent to white institutions are predominantly white as are also the accreditation teams sent to predominantly Puerto Rican, black, Indian or Chicano institutions. Black colleges have succeeded in getting a few black educators placed on accreditation teams for black colleges. The norms which are enforced are norms which are developed without particular attention to differentiations among cultures. Indeed, it seems probable that in some cases the accreditation association might be encouraged to undertake affirmative action programs to develop a stronger non-western or minority component in their staffs and among their visitors. Another technique might be to develop culture-based accreditation associations, having special skills in the assessment of the educational agendas of third world institutions or institutions which serve the languages, kinesic

and proxemic systems, and authority agendas of Asian, African or Native American cultures. The American Indian Higher Education Consortium has had this move under consideration.

In the licensing area, the development of competency-based teacher education has led to behavior counting but a counting of the behaviors which are, *in the abstract, thought to make good teachers.* The behaviors are, in the main, assessed without regard to differentiations among their possible audiences. A legal opinion developed by EEOC solicitor general William Robinson dismisses the notion that the competency-based teacher education urged in *The Power of Competency-Based Teacher Education,* the central USOE document on the subject, meets the criteria of the EEOC guidelines in that the validation which OE has sought does not predict a teacher's success with students and is not based on careful job descriptions. Robinson further adds, that when validation takes place it will have to be done, racial group by racial group, lest the norms developed be prejudicial as between one racial group and another:

> It is perhaps appropriate to repeat the need to identify performance criteria which take into account the possible differences between necessary teacher competencies and their effect on student behavior in the black ghetto as opposed to a predominantly white rural school district. (Robinson opinion on *The Power of Competency-Based Teacher Education,* from SCUEET)

Robinson is talking about the different attitudes and actions required for teaching in different "culture districts" having different races and different group wages. Recently the Center for Applied Linguistics prepared a draft of recommendations for certification of bilingual, bicultural teachers with a grant from EPDA, USOE, Title V. The draft guidelines include the following recommendations for teachers of children of non-dominant cultures. The teacher should be able to:

> *(1) Communicate effectively, both in speaking and understanding in the languages and within the cultures of both the home and school. The ability will include adequate control of pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and regional, stylistic, and nonverbal variants appropriate to the communication context.*
>
> *(2) Carry out instruction in all areas of the curriculum using a*

standard variety of the [child's first or home] language.

(3) Assist children to maintain and extend identification with and pride in the mother culture.

(4) Understand, appreciate and incorporate into activities, materials and other aspects of the instructional environment:

(a) The culture and history of the group's ancestry.
(b) Contributions of group to history and culture of the United States.
(c) Contemporary life style(s) of the group.

(5) Recognize both the similarities and differences between Anglo-American and other cultures and both the potential conflicts and opportunities they may create for chidren.

(6) Know the effects of cultural and socio-economic variables on the student's learning styles (cognitive and affective) and on the student's general level of development and socialization.

(7) Use current research regarding the education of children in the U.S. from diverse linguistic cultural backgrounds.

(8) Understand the effects of socio-economic and cultural factors on the learner and the educational program.

Were such guidelines to be adapted (Center for Applied Linguistics draft guidelines), the "nationhood"—the group identification (if not blood ethnicity)—of teachers would come to be important. Teaching might once more be conceived of as an extension of childrearing which serves the political, economic and intellectual interests of the children being taught and of their group or groups.

Management and Data Gathering

Some of the kinds of normative developments which show contempt for diversity have been created in the management systems which are used to assess progress and allocate funds in schools and in higher education. We have remarked how Thorndike created the "intelligence test" essentially to test

capacity to rise in the social hierarchy.

Recently, the professional society which is concerned with freshman English in college (College Conference on Composition and Communication) developed the following statement with respect to the students' right to his own language:

> We affirm the students' right to his own language—the dialect of his nurture in which he finds his identity and style. Any claim that only one dialect is acceptable should be viewed as an attempt of one social group to exert its dominance over another, not as either true or sound advice to speakers and writers, nor as moral advice to human beings. A nation which is proud of its diverse heritage and of its cultural and racial variety ought to preserve its heritage of dialects. We affirm strongly the need for teachers to have such training as will enable them to support this goal of diversity and this right of the student to his own language.

In analyzing a number of tests, freshman English spokesmen for the 3,000-member group came across items in, for example, the Standard Aptitude Test (often used to determine college entrance or support) which it regarded as both artificial or as involving out-of-context distinctions which have nothing to do with conventional criteria of good writing. It attacked such items. Though the CCCC did not list foolish items, it may well have had in mind such items from the SAT as the following: A sample question on usage asks the student to identify which, if any, of the italicized parts of the following sentence contains an error: "Prefabricated housing is economical *because they reduce* labor costs considerably." Under sentence correction, the students are asked to read a sentence and choose the best version from among five choices. Thus, a sample question offers the incomplete sentence: "The world-famous actress, Sarah Bernhardt, born in 1844." The five choices are:

–"The word-famous actress, Sarah Bernhardt, born in 1844."
–"A world-famous actress was Sarah Bernhardt, born in 1844."
–"Sarah Bernhardt, the world famous actress, was born in 1844."
–"Born in 1844 was Sara Bernhardt, being a world-famous actress."
–"She was a world-famous actress and Sarah Bernhardt was born in 1844."

One doubts that either "good writing" or "good thinking" or respect for a

multiplicity of cultural or personal styles is taught by the contextless editing practice given by such tests; that, of course, is what the CCCC was suggesting in its attack on the SAT.

The same may be said for the National Assessment for Educational Progress. For example, the NASEP tests assessing student abilities in music goes as follows:

> Exercises "were developed to measure the extent to which young people are achieving the objectives compiled by music professionals in 1965." The resultant test exercises include singing familiar songs, e.g., "America" and "Are You Sleeping"; repeating unfamiliar musical material; improvising; performing from notation, and performing a prepared piece. Precise criteria for judging performance were then developed. For example, in singing "America," "pitch" was judged unacceptable if a pitch was closer to the next half step than to the right original pitch; four or more pitch errors led to classifying a response as unacceptable. In improvising melody, an acceptable response had to begin "within two measures of the end of the stimulus, must not have deviated in tempo by more than 10 per cent and must have not contained more than two unidentifiable pitches." And in sight-singing "a pitch was considered to be incorrect if it was closer to the next half step than to the right pitch. Three pitch errors and one change of key were allowed in an acceptable performance. However, if one of the major second intervals were maintained consistently, the other interval may have been sung at a minor second interval without causing the responses to be scored unacceptable." (Lawrence Freeman, draft of SCUEET first report)

Nowhere in the test is there an explicit statement about the social and cultural function of music. Performance of music is apparently viewed as an individual, not a group act; performance was required in a situation in which the individual was isolated from his group, his network of friends and associates—isolated from situations which might inspire enjoyable or effective exercises in music. Musical performance is apparently thought of as a solo performance in Carnegie Hall before silent, critical strangers. The instances of familiar music, "America" and "Are You Sleeping" are familiar "school" pieces, not pieces that students would enjoy spontaneously rendering. And

finally the performance of music is seen as an extremely technical process with the standards derived almost exclusively from Western European "high culture" music and Western European conceptions of pitch, tonality, harmony, and performance-timing. One does not get the sense that music is seen as an outlet for imaginative expressions, as *fun*, or as a means for expressing and elaborating a perceived world, moral or social order. One contrasts the National Assessment's expressed view of music and its role in society with the diversity in the American musical heritage—ranging from black work-songs and spiritual songs, to pietistic and evangelical hymnody (owing much to Dwight L. Moody), to Appalachian folksongs; from music associated with labor movements to that in which Calvinistic tendencies severely limit the repertoire, to Native American songs employed on occasions of love, death, honoring, religious ceremony, etc. One may also contrast the examination's view of music with the living ways in which music represents, indoctrinates, and explores cultural ideologies.

A similar management thrust which would have the likely effect of homogenizing education is to be found in some interpretations of the Quie formula for Title I. These included the use of the normative devices of the National Assessment (given to almost every child in the U.S.) or other standardized testing devices to allocate Title I funds "according to need" throughout the country. Recent examinations of the Quie formula by Emrick and Guthrie have warned that the adoption of the formula will require a nationalized curriculum without differentiation with respect to culture, school environment, home, or previous experience of the child.

Or consider the NTE. The National Teacher's Exam was used to fire black teachers in Nansemond County in Virginia—here more a curricular and a right to work decision than a licensing judgment. In supporting the throwing out of the exam as a proper criterion of right to a job, David Rubin, in an *amicus curiae* brief was given special credence by the Circuit Court of Appeals, lists a series of questions used to keep black teachers out:

> The remaining 50 per cent of the examination calls for information such as the family living next door is not a "social group" (Question 164); Ramsey Lewis is not a trumpet player (Question 188); St. Basils's Cathedral is an example of the Byzantine influence on architecture (Question 198); a Minotaur is half-man, half-bull (Question 208); the subject matter of an oratoria

is typically religious (Question 215); Althea, Julia, Lucasta, and Corinna were ladies who inspired the poetic ardors of the Cavalier poets (Question 218); carbon dioxide is an excellent material for putting out fires because it is heavier than air and does not support combustion (Question 23); the incidence per capita of trichinosis is greater in the United States than in Asia because consumption of pork is low in Asia (Question 24); not all planets in the solar system have moons (Question 243); stars of the first magnitude are necessarily similar in brightness (Question 244).

Rubin further remarks:

> The connection between these questions and effective teaching of second grade or high school physics or any other teaching area to which defendant applied the 500 cutoff score, we submit, is not readily apparent. And without careful job analyses the relationship could not be determined. To make this determination, a court must have before it evidence showing that the examination (a) tests the very knowledge which the job analysis show is essential, and (b) does not test for knowledge that may be unrelated to the job.

It is clear that 17th century English cavalier poets such as Lovelace and Suckling count in this culture whereas a Nigerian Soyinka, a Puerto Rican DeDiego, and an Ancient African Antar do not. The Council of Chief State School Officers is planning yet another common assessment and management strategy, the Committee on Evaluation and Information Systems. It remains to be seen whether the products of CEIS will differ at all from previous efforts.

If, as Harold Garfinkel suggests, what makes a society are shared devices for determining acceptable or unacceptable performance by individuals, what destroys socially or culturally-differentiated groups are outside ways of assessing and rewarding.

Forming and Reforming Institutions

The final instrument of homogenization for the nation has been the

community college. As described as the Newman Committee, it appears to be simply a pale imitation of the senior college developing in what should have been a community-specific context the most conventionalized, lock-step kind of education designed to produce "perfect industrial man." The Study Commission's own statistics suggest that this conventionalized education is having its selection or indoctrination effects in producing a generation of community college students in the main unsympathetic to minority races and cultures, conformist, authoritarian, and anti-intellectual in outlook.

Some Solutions and Suggestions for Future Efforts

I. If accreditation forces impose homeostasis on individuals or groups, the answer may be culture-based accreditation developed within the culture group. At present the American Indian Higher Education Consortium is considering developing such culture-based accreditation for reservation-based institutions and for a few off-the-reservation institutions which are entirely controlled by Native American people. The Universidad Boricua, a Puerto Rican institution, has run into severe accreditation difficulties in New York State and elsewhere and may have to develop special devices to secure its mission and function. Chicano institutions have, in the main, made use of the accreditation which Antioch has by affiliating themselves with Antioch and using its cover, but they may also eventually turn to culture-based accreditation. The black institutions are fighting for their very survival in the face of the Pratt decision which comes after a generation of Anglo-accreditation and now seems to demand a homogenized student body and a rather full submission to decisions made by predominantly white state legislatures, forcing them into the mold.

II. If the answer to homogenized accreditation is culture-based accreditations, the answer to homogenized licensing is the development of diverse norms for licensing of the sort suggested by the Center for Applied Linguistics guidelines. This kind of licensing appears to be to some degree suggested by the Ryan Act in California (though it has not been realized there according to most accounts). It is being developed by the Navajo tribe for the new teachers who will be placed on the Navajo reservation. It is probable that, with the application of a series of decisions suggested by the Freeman article (*infra*) we will have such licensing (in particular, such cases in which the Lau decision has been enforced.)

III. The answer to standardized management systems is the development of differentiated management systems, systems which are based on some clear sense of what people in their neighborhoods want. It may involve *simply paying attention to what people say they want.* We might depend more on ordinary language statements by people as to what their needs are as opposed to special statistical devices. Some of the newer statistical procedures may also work. For example, the state of Colorado has a requirement that all tests given be based on the culture of the people to whom they are given:

> In Colorado, NB 1478 asks that tests used in the schools be free from cultural and linguistic bias or separately normed with reference to linguistic and cultural groups to which the child belongs. The State Department of Education is to determine which tests are free of such bias. (Tom Green, ed., *Laws, Tests and Schooling*)

Every state should have such a law.

IV. Finally, it is probable that opening up the system will depend more on the development of culture-specific institutions. Institutions of the kind that are coming more and more to exist on the Indian reservations, in the Chicano communities throughout the Southwestern part of the U.S. and in some black and Puerto Rican communities. Marilyn Gittell describes the progress and problems of these institutions very well in her study in this book.

The Study Commission Director has been asked to provide a set of recommendations which appear to flow naturally from the Cultural Pluralism Committee's studies. The recommendations which follow are my personal recommendations and not those of the Study Commission or any of its committees. I personally feel that funding, and ample funding, from the federal government should be provided for culture-based institutions. If we consider that almost a billion dollars a year are spent for teacher education at the federal level, and almost four billion annually in the states, it would seem not too much to ask that, as long as we have a severe crisis in the schools in differentiated cultures in the United States, we spend at least some tens of millions each year on differentiated culture-based institutions doing teacher training simply for their teacher education service. A second recommendation would be that all testing devices used in the schools be developed under

rubrics like those used in Colorado; that it be made clear that parents have a right to sue the schools if their children are tested, evaluated and valued in terms of linguistic, kinesic or authority norms which are not indigenous to their homes. Thirdly, culture-based accreditation agencies should be developed. In view of past, indirect, federal and state support to homogenizing accreditation agencies, it would now be appropriate that the federal government and the states collaborate to fund such accreditation on a culture-specific basis. Finally, some kind of consumer protection organization which would protect parents and children from undifferentiated testing and management systems, if necessary through suits, would seem to be appropriate. And here foundations rather than federal funds may be required.

The University of Paris after it was founded in the early 1200's was able to sustain within its boundaries separate living and studying groups—the French nation, the German nation, the Italian nation, etc. It sustained the notion that different people could live and study in proximity and yet retain their different views. The Latin language was an international idiom and "natural law" an international norm. That cup is broken. Since, we have had the 19th century German University, the post-Napoleonic University, the land-grant American University—tools of national homogenization and development. Now great schools are seen neither as serving the world nor the province, but the nation. They are sustained by *National Defense Education Acts*. It may well be time to seek another vision of what schools can be—certainly a more local one and perhaps a more international one also. For the present, we continue to organize education in ways which seem to hasten the fulfillment of the ancient Zuni prophecy of the end of all genuine civility and, ultimately, of civilization itself:

> Cities will progress and then decay to the ways of the lowest beings. Drinkers of dark liquids will come upon the land, speaking nonsense and filth. Then the end shall be nearer.
>
> Population will increase until the land can hold no more. The tribes of men will mix. The dark liquids they drink will cause the people to fight among themselves. Families will break up: father against children and the children against one another.
>
> Maybe when the people have outdone themselves, then maybe, the stars will fall upon the land, or drops of hot water

will rain upon the earth. Or the land will turn under. Or our father, the sun, will not rise to start the day. Then our possessions will turn into beasts and devour us whole.

If not, there will be an odor from gases, which will fill the air we breathe, and the end for us shall come.*

Paul A. Olson, Director
Study Commission on Undergraduate Education
and the Education of Teachers

*Zuni People, Alvina Quam, translator, *The Zunis: Self-Portrayals* (Alburquerque, University of New Mexico Press), p. 1.

CULTURAL PLURALISM REDEFINED

Antonia Pantoja and Barbara Blourock

San Diego State University

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Varying degrees of confusion surround the concept of cultural pluralism beginning with its description by Horace M. Kallen, the man who first, through his writings introduced the concept in the United States. In 1915 Kallen prognosticated the realization of cultural pluralism in the United States as:

> . . . the outlines of a possible great and truly democratic commonwealth become discernible. Its form would be that of the federal republic; its substance a democracy of nationalities, cooperating voluntarily and autonomously through common institutions in the enterprize of self-realization through the perfection of men according to their kind. The common language of the common wealth, the language of its great tradition, would be English, but each nationality would have for its emotional and voluntary life its own peculiar dialect or speech, its own individual and inevitable esthetic and intellectual forms. The political and economic life of the commonwealth is a single unit and serves as the foundation and background for the realization of the distinctive individuality of each *natio* (sic) that composes it and of the pooling of these in a harmony above them all. Thus, "American civilization" may come to mean the perfection of the cooperative harmonies of "European civilization"—the waste, the squalor and the distress of Europe being eliminated—a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind.[1]

To begin with this concept started by considering only Europeans as the components of a perfected form of mankind. Native Americans from

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[1]Horace M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (New York: Moni and Liverright, 1929), as quoted by Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 142-43.

whom the country had been forcibly wrested; Africans, who had been violently sequestered; Asians; racially mixed groups and women were not considered "perfectible"—and as "non-persons" were omitted from participating in the "orchestration of mankind."

In the case of the non-white elements of the population the reasons are analyzed by the sociologist Robert Blauner as follows:

> The fundamental issue is historical. People of color have never been an integral part of the Anglo-Saxon political community and culture because they did not enter the dominant society in the same way as did the European ethnics. The third world notion points *to a basic distinction between immigration and colonization as the two major processes through which new population groups are incorporated into a nation.* Immigrant groups enter a new territory or society voluntarily, they may be pushed out of their old-country by dire economic or political oppression. Colonized groups become part of a new society through force or violence. They are conquered, enslaved, or pressured into movement. Thus, the third world formulation is a bold attack on the myth that America is the land of the free, or, more specifically, a nation whose population has been built up through successive waves of immigration. The third world perspective returns to the origins of the American experience, reminding us that this nation owes its very existence to colonialism, and that along with settlers and immigrants there have always been conquered Indians and Black slaves, and later defeated Mexicans—that is colonial subjects—on the national soil.[2]

Women are also a case in point. They are colonized and as such are treated and behave as minorities, now and throughout centuries and in most countries and cultures. In Kate Millet's book, *Sexual Politics*, she deals with this situation. Women's colonial situation is described in these words:

> In terms of industry and production the situation of women

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[2]Robert Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1973), p. 52.

is in many ways comparable both to colonial and to pre-industrial peoples. Although they achieved their first economic autonomy in the industrial revolution and now constitute a large and underpaid factory population, women do not participate directly in technology or in production. What they customarily produce (domestic and personal service) has no market value and is, as it were, pre-capital.

In reference to the use of force against women she writes:

> And yet, just as under other ideologies (racism and colonialism are somewhat analogous in this respect) control in patriarchal society would be imperfect, even inoperable, unless it had the rule of force to rely upon, both in emergencies and as an ever-present instrument of intimidation. Patriarchal force also relies on a form of violence particularly sexual in character and realized most completely in the act of rape.

The similarity of the situation of women to colonial non-whites is further described as follows:

> The continual surveillance in which she is held tends to perpetuate the infantilization of women even in situations such as those of higher education. The female is continually obliged to seek survival or advancement through the approval of males as those who hold power. As women in patriarchy are for the most part marginal citizens when they are citizens, their situation is like that of other minorities, here defined not as dependent, upon numerical size of the group, but on its status. What little literature the social sciences afford us in this context confirms the presence in women of the expected traits of minority status: group self-hatred and self-rejection, a contempt for both herself and her fellows—the result of that continual, however subtle, reiteration of her inferiority which she eventually accepts as a fact.[3]

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[3]Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics* (New York: Avon Books, division of the Hearst Corporation, 1971), *Passim*, pp. 41-56.

The exclusion of women from Kallen's definition of cultural pluralism in the U.S. is then understandable since he considered them as he did non-whites–unequals.

Kallen's previous definition correctly states that the form of the U.S. government is that of a federal republic. However, the description which follows as to the substance of it consists of a series of myths and misconceptions which distort the nature of the relationships among groups in this country. Unfortunately, these myths and misconceptions still prevail to this day. The United States is not "a democracy of nationalities, cooperating voluntarily and autonomously through common institutions." The relationships which do exist among the various racial, national and cultural groups in the country are not conducive to "self-realization through perfection of men according to their own kind."

Relationships among nationalities, cultural groups and other interest groups are more like a "fightgame" among those who can play because they are inside the arena. But one must not forget that there are those groups who are outsiders; they are not even in the arena, and as such they cannot play in the "gamefight." These outsiders are the non-whites, the minorities, and the deviants or those different from the established-acceptable behavior and life style. An article recently appearing in *Psychology Today* describes the inter-group relationships as follows:

> The pluralistic image of orderly contest is a half-truth. It fits well enough the bargaining and give-and-take that goes on inside the political arena. But there is another kind of contest going on at the same time between those outside the arena and those already inside. The conflict is a great deal less orderly than what happens in the lobbies, the board rooms and the other corridors of established power.
>
> This second locus of conflict has its own rules too, but they are more like the laws of the jungle. Whatever differences the powerful may have among themselves, they are on the same team in the struggle between insiders and outsiders. Challengers who try to play by rules that members observe among themselves should realize two things. Insiders won't apply their rules to outsiders; and outsiders, being poor in resources, have little to

offer the powerful in an alliance.[4]

As stated, the common language of this nation is English. However, each national and cultural group, upon arrival in the United States, has been forced to relinquish its language and other cultural characteristics, first by law and later through more subtle ways. High status, rewards and the acquisition of resources necessary for the good life require the speaking of English. Various forms of ridicule, denial of rights, and exclusion accompany differences in cultural patterns of behavior. If the acquisition of rewards and resources depends upon rejecting a language other than English, and renouncing cultural patterns which differ from the majority, then the political and economic life of this country does not encourage the "realization of distinct individuality of each *natio*." In the case of European nationality groups, which were willing and able to relinquish their language and cultural identity, the United States proved to be a haven where "the waste, the squalor and the distress of Europe" were eliminated. Those groups and individuals who preferred not to adapt to the majority life-style did not share in the rewards and resources afforded the others.

Assimilation and acceptance of newcomers to the country has always been strongly influenced by color. The ideology of white supremacy is basic to the ethos of this society from the beginning of its history.

> Some form of white supremacy, both as ideology and institutional arrangement, existed from the first day English immigrants, seeking freedom from religious intolerance, arrived on the North American continent. From the beginning, the early colonizers apparently considered themselves culturally superior to the natives they encountered. This sense of superiority over the Indians, which was fostered by the religious ideology they carried to the new land, found its expression in the self-proclaimed mission to civilize and christianize—a mission which was to find its ultimate expression in ideas of a "manifest destiny" and a white man's burden. . . .

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[4]William A. Gamson, "Violence and Political Power, The Meek Don't Make It," *Psychology Today*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (July, 1974), pp. 39-41.

Briefly stated, manifest destiny was simply the idea that white Americans were destined, either by natural forces or by Divine Right, to control at least the North American continent and, in many versions of the theory, a much greater share of the earth's surface. Many churchmen supported the idea that such expansion was the will of God.[5]

Another component of the ideology which has nurtured racist policies is that of "the white man's burden." This phrase comes from the title of a poem by Rudyard Kipling, which appeared in the United States in 1899. Whatever Kipling himself may have wished to convey, Americans soon popularized and adopted the concept as an encouragement for accepting the responsibility of looking after the affairs of the darker races. This notion of "the white man's burden" was that the white race, particularly Anglo-Saxons of Britain and America, should accept the (Christian) responsibility for helping the poor colored masses to find a better way of life.[6]

Oppressive and destructive ideas such as found in the above quotes underline the development of the new country and made it easy for white national and cultural groups immigrating to the country to assimilate and be accepted by the original Anglo-Saxon settlers. But for the same reasons these same ideas provided the fundamental core of beliefs that excluded non-whites from assimilating and being accepted as equal citizens. The church's approval and support of this ideology facilitated the massacring of the Native American, the bringing of Africans as slaves and the invasions and annexations of countries of non-white peoples, e.g., Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

The model for successful assimilation is racially white, English speaking and Anglo-Saxon in cultural behavior. Rather than an "orchestration of mankind," the desire of the country is for the attainment of a homogeneous population, racially, culturally and linguistically. The ability and opportunity

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[5]Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt, *Institutional Racism in America* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 7, 10.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 12.

to secure the rewards and resources necessary for the optimum spiritual and physical well being of any group in the United States is directly affected by its adherence to the previously described model. Varying degrees of differences from the model is punished by varying degrees of opportunity to obtain the rewards and resources necessary for a healthy and happy life. A plurality of different groups is not encouraged since heterogeneity is not rewarded.

In a country such as the United States whose economy is based on an unequal distribution of rewards and resources, the criteria for determining who gets what and how much is based on a series of characteristics related to race, culture (particularly religion and language), sex, geography and adherence to defined sets of behavior and life-styles. In an economic system where some groups or individuals reap all or most of the resources and privileges, other groups or individuals receive some of the resources and privileges, and still other groups and individuals receive little or almost none, some system had to evolve for the designation of each of these groups. If certain racial, cultural, sexual and life-style characteristics result in an unpreferred status which would result in the curtailment of a group's ability to get access to the resources and privileges basic to a good life it is of little meaning and importance to be permitted to practice the life-style, preserve the cultural traits and expound on the beauty of one's race or of the positive attributes of one's sex. Control of access to the resources and privileges which sustain and enhance a healthy life must accompany the right to be different. To be permitted to think a particular color is beautiful, to be permitted to espouse rhetoric on the feminist movement, to be permitted to speak a language other than English, live by a variant life-style, or hold non-Protestant visions of God, is all quite superfluous if the punishment for these differences is powerlessness in controlling access to the resources and services necessary for spiritual and physical well being. Cultural pluralism, on the other hand, suggests a society where individuals and groups and communities can function in one, two, or more languages and cultural styles; where individuals and groups can abide by and function successfully adhering to different customs and religions, adhering to less crippling class and sexual stereotypes than those accepted today, and where no one race, culture, sex or class is preferred over another.

Public education in the United States was considered the institution that would ultimately result in the humanizing of society. Since it was universal it was thought of as the great democratic institution that would

answer the problems of inequality. Ironically, the educational system, when carefully scrutinized, promotes the designation of preferred and unpreferred peoples, awarding resources, privileges and power to the first group and penalizing the latter. The educational system in doing this also socializes people into accepting these positions without question. The economic system of this nation suffers from the inability to offer full employment to its labor force. A mechanism had to evolve to identify and select those who would be unemployed. Because of the direct and undisputed relationship between education and employment this mechanism has been found in the educational system.

> Those who benefit from the privileges of the society hope naturally to pass those privileges on to their children. To serve this interest, the public education system provides a series of institutions that are biased toward advancing the children of the well-to-do into important positions, but which is meanwhile financed mainly from the pockets of the poor-to-do. In addition, the capitalist economy needs a work force neatly stratified to provide workers who will fit in comfortably to their destined job slots. For employers, the system delivers up stratified classes of people who are clearly intended for factory work, for clerical work, for white-collar work, et cetera. This means employers don't have to spend time evaluating people's abilities to figure out where they should go. It also means that workers will see their job situation as their "destiny" and will not have ambitions terribly out of line with their situation–a conflict that could easily lead to discontent and inefficiency.[7]

The direct relationship between education and employment not only affects employability but the conditions surrounding it. The kind of education or the lack of it will decide those individuals who will hold low-pay jobs, and those who can only obtain seasonal employment.

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[7] David Finkelhor, "Education Under Capitalism" in Tom Christoffel, David Finkelhor, Dan Gilbarg, *Up Against the American Myth* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 320-21.

> The ancient reference to unemployment as a percentage of the total labor force implies that labor is more or less homogeneous in its employability; the 3 or 4 or 5 per cent who are without work differ from the rest in the fact that the supply of jobs ran out before they were reached. This is far from being so. Those who are without work lack education, are young or otherwise without previous job experience, are unskilled or untrained and are frequently Black. Especially they lack education.[8]

Who are the people in the United States who are poor, hungry, unemployed or under-employed, poorly educated and who suffer from discrimination? Who are the people in the United States who are likely to be held responsible for their poverty, their poor education, their dependency, their inability to find and maintain employment and their inferior position in society? They are the "unpreferred," the lowest rung on the ladder of America's caste system. They are racially non-white; culturally non-Anglo-Saxon. They speak English poorly either because their native language is other than English or their particular dialect is not standard English. They are the people who entered the society through or as a result of a process of colonization. However "unpreferredness" is a matter of degree depending upon the characteristics of the "preferred" model the individual does not possess. On the "unpreferred" side of the ledger can be found non-Christians, Catholics, non-standard Protestant sects as well as women, homosexuals, counter culture youth, rural and southern peoples. The degree of "unpreferredness" depends on the possession of the most negative characteristics and on the number of the characteristics found in one group. Race and sex are the only two conditions which are unalterable no matter how strong the desire to do so would be; being non-white and not male are the two most negative attributes.

On the "preferred" side of the ledger fall the groups and individuals who possess characteristics considered most desirable. Varying ability and desire to mold into the "preferred" model would be rewarded with degrees of the resources, privileges and power held by the most preferred. The

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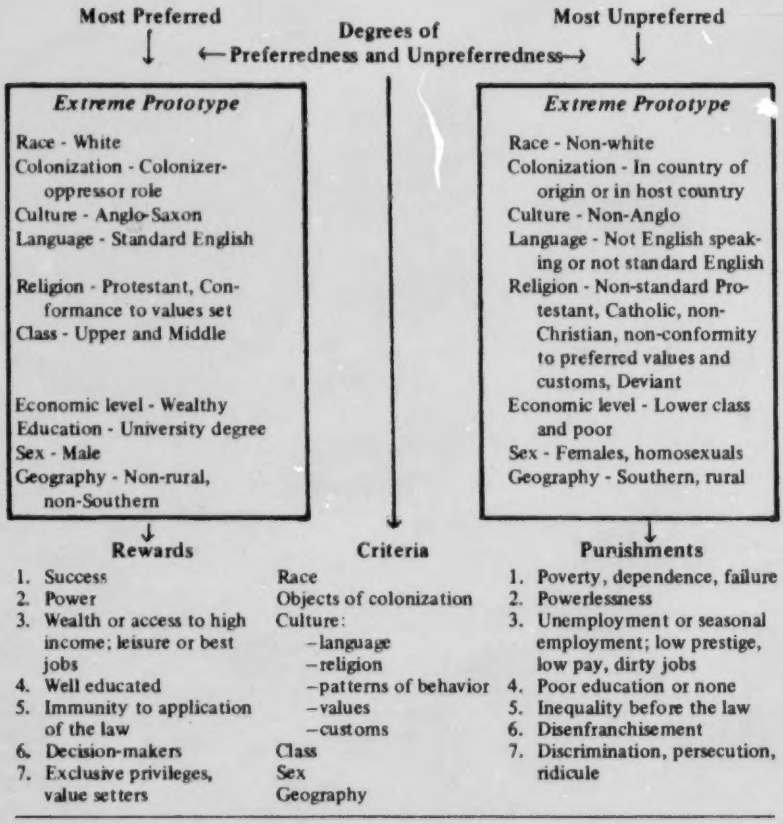
[8]John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (New American Library, 1969), p. 229.

graphic which follows illustrates the criteria for "preferredness" and "unpreferredness" and the rewards and punishments which accrue from each. The educational system has been the institutionalizer and the economic system the perpetuator of this process.

Model of Preferred-Unpreferred Americans Taught and Promulgated by the School System



Social science in the United States (until the racial and third world revolutions of the sixties) has failed to throw light on our knowledge of group life because it tried to explain racism in psychological terms and dealt mainly with individual racism. Only recently, as a result of third world and radical social scientist explorations of economic oppression, colonialism and sexism, have we begun to understand the dynamics of group life in this country in more sophisticated ways. With the increased interest in and acquisition of research tools by third world social thinkers, studies of the colonial relationship will give us the theoretical know-how to use this knowledge effectively without being accused of using rhetoric. (The interested student of this subject should read Albert Memmi, Robert Blauner, Franz Fannon on the subject of the colonizer-colonized relationship and its effects on both.) The failure of past assimilation theories to explain the situation of the most "unpreferred groups" of this society lies in the reluctance of its social science and of the country as a whole to recognize the roots of the country in its colonizing-oppressive practices.

> Colonialism and immigration are two major means by which heterogeneous or plural societies, with ethnically diverse populations, develop. In the case of colonialism, metropolitan nations incorporate new territories or people processes that are essentially involuntary, such as war, conquest, and other forms of force or manipulation. Through immigration, new peoples or ethnic groups enter a host society more or less freely. These are the ideal types, the polar ends of a continuum; many historical cases fall in between. In the case of America's racial minorities, some groups clearly fit the criterion for colonial entry; others exemplify mixed types.
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> Native Americans, Chicanos, and Blacks are the third world groups whose entry was unequivocally forced and whose subsequent histories best fit the colonial model. (Puerto Ricans, the other group in the third world category, enter the society as a result of economic practices in Puerto Rico, a colony of the U.S., which pushes poor, unskilled, uneducated groups to emigrate in search of work to the metropolitan cities.)[9] Critics of the colonial

[9] Added to quote by authors.

interpretation usually focus on the Black experience, emphasizing how it has differed from those of traditional colonialism. Rather than being conquered and controlled in their native land, African people were captured, transported, and enslaved in the Southern states and other regions of the Western hemisphere. Whether oppression takes place at home or in the oppressed's native land or in the heart of the colonizer's mother country, colonialization remains colonization. However, the term *internal colonization* is useful for emphasizing the differences in setting and in the consequences that arise from it.[10]

The concepts of preferred and unpreferred are parts of the colonizer-colonized relationship. The "unpreferred" groups in reality are the internal colonies of the United States. As is true in modern external colonies, the colonizers are not the most preferred or the upper classes. The front line role of oppression is placed on the aspiring lower and middle class. These are the people best equipped for the direct-front line oppressor role because their base of functioning is fear of losing what they have achieved or not arriving at what they desire. So in the United States this role fell on the white ethnics. A tragic example of this is the American Jewish community forgetting its historical role of oppressed people for centuries throughout the world and aligning themselves with white oppressors. In the educational system this role has often been played by the primarily Jewish teacher unions in the fight against community control of schools in New York City. The allegiance of Jews, according to history and interest, should be with the colonized since they themselves have been and often today are colonized.

The white ethnics in the United States, the white European immigrants, paid the price for being accepted by the Anglo-Saxon preferred groups. They were rewarded in varying degrees according to how many of their cultural life-styles they were willing to forsake, and according to how direct a role as colonizers they were ready to adopt. This latter role would remove from the Anglo-Saxon group the onus and visibility of being the direct oppressor and colonizer. The white ethnics were the groups about whom sociologists wrote books on self-hate and marginal man theories. Most of them embraced the

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[10]Blauner, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

roles assigned to them to reject themselves and to be the oppressors of the "non-preferred." White ethnics, whom we really here consider also oppressed to a degree, although not fully aware of it, in their effort at assimilating committed the crime against themselves required by assimilation.

> The first attempt of the colonized is to change his condition by changing his skin. There is a tempting model very close at hand—the colonizer. The latter suffers from none of his deficiencies, has all rights, enjoys every possession and benefits from every prestige. He is, moreover, the other part of the comparison, the one that crushes the colonized and keeps him in servitude. The first ambition of the colonized is to become equal to that splendid model and to resemble him to the point of disappearing in him.
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> By this step, which actually presupposes admiration for the colonizer, one can infer approval of colonization. But by obvious logic, at the very moment when the colonized best adjusts himself to this fate, he rejects, in another way, the colonial situation. Rejection of self and love of another are common to all candidates for assimilation. Moreover, the two components of this attempt at liberation are closely tied. Love of the colonizer is subtended by a complex of feelings ranging from shame to self-hate.[11]

A process of analysis, understanding and recognition by the white ethnics and the white poor in the United States of their misuse and of their own oppression and sacrifice could happen in the United States. It would advance the progress of this country in attaining a more humane and equitable society. A small indication of the emergence of this possibility was the appearance of Michael Novak's book, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, where he very frankly expresses the present situation of the white ethnics:

"Unfortunately, it seems, the ethnics failed to Americanize themselves before clearing the project with the educated classes. They learned to wave the flag and to send their sons to war. They learned to support their President

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[11] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), pp. 120-21.

–an easy task after all, for those accustomed to obeying authority. And where would they have been if Franklin Roosevelt had not sided with them against established interests? They knew a little about communism–the radicals among them in one way, and by far the larger number of conservatives in another. To this day not a few exchange letters with cousins and uncles who did not leave for America when they might have, whose lot is demonstrably harder than their own and less than free.

Finally, the ethnics do not like, or trust or even understand the intellectuals. It is not easy to feel uncomplicated affection for those who call you "pig," "fascist," "racist." One had not yet grown accustomed to not hearing "hunkie," "Polack," "spic," "Mick," "Dago," and the rest. A worker in Chicago told reporter Lois Willie in a vividly home-centered burst:

> "The liberals always have despised us. We've got these mostly little jobs, and we drink beer and, my God, we bowl and watch television and we don't read. It's goddamn vicious snobbery. We're sick of all their phoney integrated T.V. commercials and these upper-class Negroes. We know they're phoney."

The only time a Pole is mentioned it's to make fun of him. He's Ignoratz Dumbrowski, 272 pounds and 5-foot-4, and he got his education by writing in to a firm on a matchbook cover. But what will we do about it? Nothing, because we're the new invisible man, the new shipping boy, and we still think the measure of a man's what he does and how he takes care of his children and what he's doing in his home, not what he thinks about Vietnam.

Such a tide of resentment begins to overwhelm the descendant of "the new immigration" when he begins to voice repressed feelings about America that at first his throat clogs with despair. Dare he let resentment out? Shouldn't he keep calm? Can he somehow, out of anything available, put together categories and words, and shoot them aloft, slim silver missiles of despair? The incoming planes are endless. The illusions of Americans are vast.

Allies are foes; foes are friends. A language for ethnic divergence does not exist. Prejudices are deep in social structures and institutions; deep, too, in moralities and philosophies; not shallow in families and close relationships. American politics is going crazy because of fundamental ignorance. Intellectuals, too, are blind.

The battle is partly in one's soul. On the one hand American, enlight-

ened, educated; on the other hand stubbornly resistent, in love with values too dear to jettison, at home neither in the ethnic community nor any intellectual group, neither with the theorists nor with the practical politicians, convinced of a certain rightness in one's soul and yet not confident that others will see, can see, the subtle links in a different way of life. It is the insecurity of certainty; the sense that something of value is not likely to be understood. The planes keep droning on and on.

A Slovak proverb: When trees are blown across the road in front of you, you know a tornado's coming.

It is impossible to define people out of existence or to define their existence for them. Sooner or later, being free, they will explode in rage.

Be wary not to blow up the small glimmer of understanding and rage beyond proportion. It may remain the expression of one individual and then again it may die completely."[12]

In 1915 Kallen envisioned and described Cultural Pluralism as "an orchestration of mankind." As the country continued to develop, other colorful titles were given to assimilation theories which all implied attempts to develop a democratic egalitarian society. One such theory was the well-known melting pot theory. From "melting pots" we have "progressed" to "tossed salads."

Cultural Pluralism has not only become an empty concept but a dishonest one as well. Many expounders of the concept are well-meaning individuals who merely are guilty of repeating what they think of as a "beautiful idea" and have accepted it as a reality. Others have taken possession of the concept to exploit it in a self-serving manner in various ways. This second group of people write books, conduct workshops, teach courses, develop programs, acquire reputations and money under the umbrella of cultural pluralism. Very little benefit accrues and no change results in the lives of those groups who suffer most directly from the non-existence of cultural pluralism in this country. What transpires under the title of cultural pluralism in the educational programs of the nation today is an example of what we

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[12]Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1971), pp. 59-62.

described above. The following is an excerpt from a speech given in 1973 at a conference on Competency Based Teacher Education at the University of Wisconsin. The speaker is a director of a training of teachers' trainer programs.

> During the mid 1960's to the present time there has been a considerable amount of attention paid to the fact that this is a culturally diverse nation. Many people heretofore have seen this diversity as a defensive force within this country thus adhered to the "melting pot philosophy" in an attempt to obscure these differences. Examples of this melting pot approach can be seen in some legislation bearing directly on education namely Title I. Under these laws schools and consequently children attending these schools have been labeled "educationally deprived." Such a broad rubric does very little if anything towards defining cultural or educational characteristics which will be helpful in planning to meet learning needs. Now many of these culturally distinct groups have proclaimed a non-acceptance of amalgamation and that this practice of non-acceptance of cultural distinctions must terminate, and that society must be reeducated to the concept of the tossed salad philosophy rather than the melting pot (i.e., each element mixed with others while maintaining its own unique flavor making a unique contribution to the total quality of the American experience with no element seen as worse or better than the other).[13]

Cultural Pluralism as defined in this document cannot co-exist with inequality. By its very nature inequality requires that some groups in society be unequal to others, they do not have the same access to resources, privileges and powers as do others.

Inequality is fundamental to and inescapably an essential element of the economic system of our country.

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[13] Allen R. Sullivan, *Issues in Assessing Multi-Cultured Youth: Its Implications for Teachers*, speech given at Conference on Competency Based Teacher Education: the Potential for Multi-Cultural Education, November 1-2, 1973, University of Wisconsin, Madison (mimeo), p. 3-4.

The question of inequality is constantly denied in American reality by value statements, laws, constitutional provisions and other official and unofficial documents proclaiming equality as the center of our national philosophy, beliefs and deeds. Scrutiny of the value system and the actual social system upon which our society is based will uncover the fact that many of our cherished beliefs and actions are directly rooted in ideas emerging from the 19th century English schools of economic thought which supply the basis for our values and profound belief in equality. In the world of the English economists Smith, Ricardo and Malthus:

> . . . one looked not at the peril and misfortune, for there had always been peril and misfortune, but at the opportunity. In any case, nothing could be done about the inequality, for it was not rooted in mutual social institutions but in biology. This was fortunate, for the state was excluded from intervention by its prior commitment to freedom of enterprise.[14]

The ideology of Social Darwinism also took root in the American mind:

> Economic society was an arena in which men met to compete. The terms of the struggle were established by the market. Those who won were rewarded with survival, and if they survived brilliantly, with riches. Those who lost went to the lions. This competition not only selected the strong but developed their faculties and insured their perpetuation. And in eliminating the weak, it insured that they would not reproduce their kind. Thus, the struggle was socially benign, and, to a point at least, the more merciless, the more benign its effects, for the more weaklings it combed out.[15]

This same view is presently being propagated in 1974 by the Stanford physicist, William Shockley, who is blatantly advocating the voluntary

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[14] Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

sterilization of those people whom he considers biologically inferior. The administration headed by Richard Nixon adopted a policy of "benign neglect" towards Blacks which, although not as directly and frankly stated as the expression of Social Darwinism, resulted in legislative and social policy of indifference to the fate of thousands of hungry, dying Americans. Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, reporting on a visit with a team of doctors to investigate the claim that Negro children in Mississippi were malnourished, said in the *New York Times*, July 16, 1967, "We do not want to quibble over words, but 'malnutrition' is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry—weak, in pain, sick . . . they are suffering from hunger and disease, and directly or indirectly, they are dying from them—which is exactly what 'starvation' means. . . ."

Under the spearhead of citizens committees armed with data and monies from foundations the situation about hunger was nationally made known. When President Nixon came into office the issue became a political football which was resolved by naming more inquiry committees, studies, conferences, and haggling back and forth between the President, members of his cabinet, aides and committees of the opposing party. Who are the hungry in America? Blacks and whites in the deep south and in the hills of Appalachia, Native Americans on reservations, Chicanos in the barrios of the Southwest, Blacks, Puerto Ricans and the aged in the ghettos of the big cities. Those who could have enacted the social policies necessary to end hunger questioned whether there were really people going hungry. Preoccupations with ending hunger in the United States have been substituted with fears of over population and providing the poor with services for birth control.

This country conducted a war against poverty which was finally ended not because it was won but because the country still believes that the poor and inequality will always be with us as a "natural" and inevitable phenomenon. These beliefs have been defended with different arguments at different times in economic Anglo-Saxon thinking.

> The conservative defense of inequality has varied. There has always been the underlying contention that, as a matter of natural law and equity, what a man has received save by proven larceny is rightfully his. . . . This was essentially the passive defense. With time (and agitation) the case for inequality became a good deal more functional. The undisturbed enjoyment of

income was held to be as essential as an incentive. The resulting effort and ingenuity would bring greater production and greater resulting awards for all. Inequality became to be regarded as almost equally important for capital information. Were income widely distributed, it would be spent. But if it flowed in a concentrated stream to the rich, a part would certainly be saved and invested.

There were other arguments. Excessive equality makes for cultural uniformity and monotony. Rich men are essential if there is to be an adequate subsidy to education and to the arts. Equality smacks of communism and hence of athesism and therefore is spiritually suspect. In any case, even the Russians have abandoned egalitarianism as unworkable. Finally, it is argued that, by means of the income-tax we have achieved virtual or (depending on the speaker) quite excessive equality. The trend for the future must be toward restoring an adequate measure of inequality by well conceived tax reductions affecting the upper sur-tax brackets.[16]

Cultural Pluralism Redefined

Redefining Cultural Pluralism will require renaming it–cultural socio-economic pluralism. As it is used and understood today the concept is meaningless and dangerous. It is meaningless because cultural pluralism does not exist. What does exist is institutional racism and inequality operating against non-whites, women, homosexuals and those who dare to be different. A certain degree of equality does exist for those white groups who are willing and able to approximate the preferred model. The price paid is relinquishing cultural uniqueness and becoming the visible and identifiable oppressors of the "unpreferred."

The concept is dangerous because it is used to create an illusion of equality of opportunity and access to the resources, privileges, and power of

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

our society for all its citizens. The rewards offered by society are supposedly awarded as a result of hard work, perserverance, obtaining an education and being an upright good citizen. The non-white and the different who do not receive the awards granted by society are then held responsible for their failure, either because they are "sick," immoral, lazy, intellectually lacking, in sum; they are inferior and undeserving.

As previously stated, these groups suffer from the social and economic problems, resulting from a commitment of our society to social policies resulting in inequalities in the distribution of the life-enhancing and life-sustaining resources. Cultural socio-economic pluralism cannot exist unless our society would make the radical commitment to pursue social and economic policies which would result in a more equal distribution of the life-enhancing and life-sustaining resources to all its citizens. Although this statement might appear Utopian at this point in the history of our country, it is becoming more and more obvious that pursuing the continuation of our present system will inevitably lead to more intensive inter-group conflicts and perhaps to overt overall hostility.

The development and use of consciousness-raising techniques by many groups in our society will eventually result in the discovery of a direct relationship between unequal access to resources and institutional racism, social problems, group conflict, crime and many of the chronic problems which affect the quality of life in this country.

In the words of David G. Gil, Professor of Social Policy at Brandeis University:

> . . . *significant* changes in human relations, in the quality of life, and in the circumstances of living will occur only when a society is willing to introduce significant modifications, in the scope and quality of the resources it develops, and in the criteria by which it allocates statuses, and distributes rights to its members. New social policies which involve no, or merely insignificant modifications of these key processes and their interactions, can, therefore, not be expected to result in significant changes of a given status quo with respect to the quality of life, the circumstances of living and the human relations in a society. Anti-poverty policies throughout the history of American society are telling illustrations

> of this obvious fact. These policies consistently involved merely minor changes in resources development, in the allocation of statuses, and in the distribution of rights to deprived segments of the population, and, thus have failed to produce expected changes in the quality of life, the circumstances of living, and in human relations. They always were, and continue to be, merely new variations of old themes.[17]

An educational process must be started to disseminate the knowledge and facts necessary for a change to occur in the values of the citizenry. Simultaneously other phases leading to the realization of Cultural Socio-economic Pluralism must be made operative.

One such phase includes the analysis and understanding of basic roots, and rejection of concepts, institutions and actions which reward models of preferred race, behavior, culture, sex, class and national origin.

Another phase includes opportunities, acceptance and support for groups who are considered "unpreferred" to come together in order to analyze their situation of "unpreferredness" and the roots of it, and to realize the degree to which they themselves have accepted that condition. This phase would provide the time and efforts to eradicate their self-hate and to develop a sense of community-nation building. During this phase, groups who have enjoyed preferred status would come together to confront the reality of their "preferredness" and to analyze the conflict and principles of democracy. Groups which have enjoyed varying degrees of preferredness in exchange for a price would have to arrive at the decision whether to continue to pay the price required for their few privileges or to develop the consciousness of their oppressive self-denial and take steps to repair their damaged image. The poor white ethnics who completely gave up who they were to ape the Anglo-Saxon are an example of this last situation. They were assigned the role as direct and visible oppressors of the people of color protecting the real oppressors, and in the end were despised by them. The following excerpt from Novak's book, *The Unmeltable Ethnics*, eloquently bears this out:

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[17] David G. Gil, "Praxis in the Human Services as a Political Act" (paper prepared within the Social Policy Study Program supported by the Office of Child Development, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1973), p. 6.

> At no little sacrifice, one had apologized for foods that smelled too strong for Anglo-Saxon noses, moderated the wide swings of Slavic and Italian emotion; learned decorum; gave oneself to education, American style; tried to learn tolerance and assimilation. Each generation criticized the earlier for its authoritarian and European and old-fashioned ways. "Up-to-date" was a moral lever. And now when the process nears completion, when a generation appears that speaks without accent and goes to college, still you are considered "pigs," "fascists," and "racists."[18]

Middle class white liberals who have considered themselves the bearing and upholders of the ideals of democracy and traditions of equality must also confront their stated ideals vis-a-vis the reality of their actual privilege-holding status in contrast to the conditions of oppression and inequality of both white and non-white sectors of the population.

Both preferred and unpreferred groups at this stage of separation would squarely and directly deal with the issue of power as the root of the denial of equal resources to certain groups and the acquisition of unwarranted privileges to others. On this basis there can develop ethnic studies within traditional educational institutions, as well as ethnic alternative schools and colleges where one group can research, analyze, interpret and build upon a newly found strength strategies and approaches to the general society. The educational process requires the integration of this body of knowledge, philosophy and values through the educational spectrum. It will continue to be non-effective if it consists of piecemeal endeavors such as brotherhood weeks, isolated human relations courses, ethnic studies departments, minority workshops, multi-cultural and bilingual programs and other efforts that smack of gimmickry. The commitment of education to help bring about the "concientization" process (consciousness raising), must be all-pervasive extending throughout the educational process at all levels but also permeating all curriculum areas and reaching all education consumers. This type of approach should include laying down a foundation through philosophy, knowledge of unbiased historical facts, theory and concepts of the physical and social sciences which are conducive to the development of attitudes and values

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[18] Novak, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

which would promulgate cooperation vs. competition, heterogeneity vs. homogeneity, sharing vs. greed. Those who believe that man is basically selfish and would not accept this type of world view, particularly if acceptance of it means relinquishing their privileges, must examine the present quality of life in this country. Our social and economic policies have resulted in the emergence of serious problems which affect everyone—i.e., ecology, poverty, crime, the revolutions of oppressed sectors of the population, and the revolt of our youth against the inconsistencies of our values.

A very special effort is required in the education of the nation's teachers if they are to be the front line propagators of this new philosophical approach. They must be thoroughly debriefed since they themselves are a product of our present educational system. They must be equipped with an array of skills, techniques and knowledge to perform this new and difficult task.

To invent the mechanism and the processes through which these basic changes can be initiated and institutionalized will help in the development of a more humane society. We have no choice since not to do it can eventually create polarization of forces which can lead to open and general hostility and revolution.

CULTURAL PLURALISM: TRADITIONAL AND ALTERNATIVE MODELS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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Preface

The concept of cultural pluralism has as many definitions as there are people interpreting it. The increased rhetoric on the concept and its current application in educational philosophy have made a common definition even more elusive. Rather than devote all their energies to an abstract concept, the Committee on Cultural Pluralism of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers determined to survey programs and schools which claimed to fulfill the intent of the concept, and thus to describe its application and impact. For over a year, Bruce Dollar and I have been engaged in the study. During that time, other research assistants have worked on the project and a variety of specialists throughout the country have been consulted.

As is true of any study of this kind, it was necessary to select those experiences which seemed most compelling. Through informal screening by Commission members and our own review of the literature, about fifteen programs were selected to be described. These included the most widely discussed and publicized experiences but also several less well known activities. Much of the initial screening was done in the early research of the literature. Adjustments were made, however, as field research began and additional knowledge was gained. Only in very few cases was the inability to arrange field visits the cause of omission. At no time did the researchers believe the study could include every experience, although we often wished that could be done.

Field visits to each of the projects was the essential ingredient of the study. Somewhat in the manner of a professional accrediting visit, we spent a good deal of our time at the school locations interviewing program directors, students and staff. We were particularly intent on reviewing programs in

relation to the goals established by the school itself. Very early in the study categories of experiences seemed to us to become self-defined; our analysis was developed around these categories of purpose as expressed by the participant, in the program and as manifested in their activities. The same general series of questions was posed to all the groups regarding their programs. We asked which population they sought to reach, for what purposes, how they had determined theirs to be the best way to achieve these goals, what major problems they had had, and how they were dealing with those problems. Overriding these questions, of course, were their own definitions of cultural pluralism and the means they had developed to fulfill that stated goal. As the study makes clear, ideological commitments and orientations differed significantly, and as a result, programs also differed. To take just one example, changing behavior was the issue for some, while for others, changing institutions was viewed as far more relevant.

It is our belief that these descriptions of programs and the categorization which grew out of the study provide a more realistic basis for further consideration of the concept of cultural pluralism and its ultimate application to both educational and societal needs.

Marilyn Gittell

Introduction: The Concept of Cultural Pluralism

The pluralist concept which defines the United States as a harbor where diverse cultures may productively coexist has long played an integral part in the dynamics of American thought and politics. Pluralism, however, remains more a myth of American society than a concept which has informed its institutions and practices. The myth assumed that this society would be able to fulfill egalitarian goals by absorbing differences. Becoming part of the system was the means to sharing its resources. Thus the mythology of the society attempted to fit the pluralist circumstance to the assimilationist mold—the "melting pot." In fact, the system could not, or would not, tolerate cultural diversity and insisted that those who desired admittance leave their cultural baggage behind. Moreover, in times of heaviest immigration, antagonism grew along with nativist claims to superiority, and even those newcomers willing to abandon their cultural backgrounds were often

denied entrance into the system.[1]

There were also those for whom the price of admission was too high, and for whom separatism became the only means of cultural survival. These groups were forced to rely on their own cohesiveness, and developed new institutional arrangements as basic survival tactics. This separatism also required separate resources and, in cases where these resources were limited (as they frequently were), an acceptance of more limited participation in the system. Meanwhile, equality came to be defined in terms of individual opportunity rather than fulfillment, a convenience which permitted inequities based on cultural differences to be overlooked.

The history of parochial schools in American education provides a clear illustration of the efforts of a particular group to develop its own institutions in order to safeguard a cultural identity while simultaneously preparing its members to compete in the larger society. Greeley and Rossi note that, "the American Catholics could only survive by preserving their faith in the security of their own schools." Archbishop Hughes began Catholic schools in New York City, they add, "only after concluding that he could not arrange a satisfactory working arrangement with the public school system." Preservation of ethnic traditions in the face of core culture-dominated public schools were probably as important in the development of Catholic schools as religious reasons.

> The Catholic immigrants of the nineteenth century were only partly of Anglo-Saxon stock. Preservation of their ethnic identities was another source of educational separatism. Thus the strongest defenders of the Catholic schools during the "school controversy" at the end of the century were German Catholics; in later years Polish Catholics became staunch supporters of Catholic schools as a means of preserving their own cultural tradition.[2]

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[1] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New York: Atheneum, 1963).

[2] Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), p. 3.

The emergence of public education in the late 19th century reflected a major attempt in the society to mold the separatist reality to the assimilationist myth. These new institutions, it was claimed, would provide the appropriate means (heretofore lacking) to gain access to the system. A primary task of these early educators was to teach the mores and values of the larger system into which the immigrants would enter. Schools became the training ground and the screening process for those seeking access to the mainstream through the education route. Abandonment of cultural differences was prerequisite to acceptance. Norman Podhoretz describes the process in *Making It*[3] and soundly concludes that nothing short of utter abandonment of one's attachments to a subcultural style would be sufficient. Paradoxically, the preservation of diversity was in part a product of this exclusionary process: it stimulated those who were unwilling or unable to "make it" to develop institutional settings in which they could carry on. The subculture group itself became the source of that growth and development, recognizing always the distinct limitations on its role in the system, satisfied with a piece of the action, though never on center stage.

"Cultural pluralism is a new direction for action in white and nonwhite relations," write two distinguished educators in 1973. "Through culturally pluralistic education, we have a new basis for developing a richness of life in our society deriving from the unique strength of each of its parts."[4]

The re-emergence of the concept of cultural pluralism in the 1970's is testimony to the last century's failure to develop public institutions which could either tolerate diversity or successfully suppress it. The ultimate failure of the melting pot, in fact, was forecast fifty years ago by Horace Kallen, one of the earliest exponents of cultural pluralism:

> What is important . . . is the fact that the uniformity is super-imposed, not inwardly generated. Under its regimentation

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[3]Norman Podhoretz, *Making It* (New York: Random House, 1968).

[4]William R. Hazard and Madelon D. Stent, "Cultural Pluralism and Schooling: Some Preliminary Observations," in Madelon D. Stent, William R. Hazard, and Harry N. Rivlin (eds.), *Cultural Pluralism in Education: A Mandate for Change* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), p. 25.

> the diversities persist; upon it and by means of it they grow. But instead of growing freely and fusing by their own expansion into contact and harmony with their peers, they grow distortedly, as reactions against and compensations for the superimposed reality. In the end they must win free, for nature is naturally pluralistic; her unities are eventual, not primary; mutual adjustments not regimentations of superior force. Human institutions have the same character. Where there is no mutuality there may be "law and order" but there cannot be peace.[5]

Once again education is the chosen arena, but this time the schools are asked to recognize and meet the needs and demands of groups not assimilated, nor desirous of being assimilated into the mainstream of the larger society. Presumably there will no longer be penalties for maintaining contact with and upholding the values of subculture. "Making it" no longer will require dissociation from those outside the establishment. Equality can then more reasonably and realistically be achieved.

Or can it? Definitions of cultural pluralism are proliferating in response to the move toward acceptance of diversity. There are a variety of emphases according to who is relating to the issue and with what orientation and purpose. Perhaps the most common semantic abuse of the term is the failure to distinguish between its use as a description of reality and its use as an ideal to be strived for. Webster defines pluralism as "the quality or condition of existing in more than one part or form." Similarly, writers on cultural pluralism in this country may use it in this non-normative way; for instance, "The evidence clearly shows that America is a pluralistic rather than an integrated society."[6] But if all we meant by cultural pluralism were an acknowledgment of diversity of cultures within our society there would be no need for further discussion; we have it and that's that. The coauthors of an article on cultural pluralism and schooling try to separate the term into component meanings, distinguishing "fact" from "concept" (which might be better read as "goal"):

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[5]Horace Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924), pp. 178-79.

[6]Hazard and Stent, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

> Cultural pluralism is both a fact and concept [goal] which has not been given due recognition. The fact that the United States includes citizens of diverse cultures cannot be challenged. The extent to which the nonwhite cultures have been disenfranchised or made invisible varies but their existence is a fact. Treated as bare fact, cultural pluralism means very little. Moving from fact to concept [goal], however, opens the door to useful examination. Once cultural pluralism is viewed conceptually as well as affectively, its implications for education and teacher education can be explored.[7]

A working definition of this latter sense of cultural pluralism, as a value or condition to be achieved, was developed at a conference of educators. They defined it as

> . . . a state of equal co-existence in a mutually supportive relationship within the boundaries or framework of one nation of people of diverse cultures with significantly different patterns of belief, behavior, color, and in many cases with different languages. To achieve cultural pluralism, there must be unity with diversity. Each person must be aware of and secure in his own identity, and be willing to extend to others the same respect and rights that he expects to enjoy himself.[8]

To date, the major emphasis in achieving this state of cultural pluralism in education (to the limited extent it has caught on in practice), has been on the development and implementation of bilingual-bicultural programs, both in schools and in teacher training programs. This is to replace the earlier monopolies of the English language and mainstream culture. The new tendency focuses almost exclusively on the *process* of education, with the aim of influencing attitudes and behavior. The greatest effort has been in adoption of courses and programs directed toward convincing people that all groups, their mores, customs and values, are worthy of respect. For instance:

> A prerequisite to understanding cultural pluralism as it

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

> exists at Rough Rock is an understanding of one of the basic premises on which the school is founded: respect for the individual child and recognition of the need to instill self-respect and self-confidence in him.[9]

The common presumption is that intolerance of diversity is more a product of ignorance than prejudice and can best be corrected by exposure to information and training. The Center for Cultural Awareness at the University of New Mexico exemplifies this approach. On the assumption that

> The time impediment to cultural pluralism is that we had culturally deficient educators attempting to teach culturally different children.[10]

the center organizes workshops for school faculties in which teachers are sensitized to the cultural attributes of their pupils. The notion of informed and understanding teachers as the key to cultural pluralism is widely shared:

> Until teachers are trained to work in the area of human relationships as well as in teaching subject matter, until they can enter the effective realm, the transition to cultural pluralism will be elusive.[11]

> So the question is: What can the higher education establishment do in the training of teachers to ameliorate ethnocentrism? The answer in my opinion lies in making ethnic studies programs a formal requirement in the training of teachers as well as other professionals who function as brokers mediating the

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[9]Dillon Platero, "Cultural Pluralism," in Stent, Hazard and Rivlin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[10]John Aragon, "An Impediment to Cultural Pluralism: Culturally Deficient Educators Attempting to Teach Culturally Different Children," in *ibid.*, p. 78.

[11]William L. Smith, "The Melting-Pot Theory: Demise of Euphemism," in *ibid.*, p. 144.

relationship of ethnics with the dominant society.[12]

> The teaching of cross-cultural understanding requires teachers who are adequately prepared to function in, and to accept, dissimilar cultural values. At the same time, the teacher needs to appreciate his role in his own culture.[13]

The other side of the bilingual-bicultural coin is programs for the children. Advocates with this orientation often define cultural pluralism as "facility in another culture in addition to the one into which a person is born."[14] The clear implication is that by basing learning programs for minorities on the language and culture of the children themselves, thereby "helping children overcome their self-depreciation and alienation and encouraging students to have a positive cultural and personal self-image,"[15] minority children will achieve educationally and thus fulfill the ideal of equal opportunity in education.

Implicit in many of the arguments linking bilingual-bicultural education with cultural pluralism is the belief that these programs will somehow "enable people to become participating citizens of a culturally pluralistic society."[16]

> As the student progresses academically and socially [in these programs], he becomes truly bilingual and bicultural, and *able to function effectively in all strata in society.*[17]

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[12] Eduardo Seda Bonilla, "Ethnic and Bilingual Education for Cultural Pluralism," in *ibid.*, p. 121.

[13] Eugene Schaquaptewa, "Community as a Producer of Education for Cultural Pluralism: Conformal Education vs. Mutual Respect," in *ibid.*, p. 38.

[14] Dillon Platero, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[15] Manuel Reyes Mazon, "A Design for Bilingual/Bicultural Education: A Process for Cultural Pluralism," developed for Bilingual Education, U.S. Office of Education, March, 1972 (mimeo), p. 6.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 5 (emphasis added).

The recently coined term "cultural democracy" makes this assumption of the transferability of bicultural skills into effective participation in society even more explicit. As defined by its originators:

> Cultural democracy refers . . . to the legal rights of an individual to be different while at the same time a responsible member of a larger dominant society.[18]

> Cultural democracy (means) enabling every child to retain and develop his cultural identity while he becomes versed in the values and lifestyles of mainstream America. The product of cultural democracy is bi-culturalism: the ability to function competently and comfortably in the culture represented by the child's family as well as the culture represented by the majority of Americans.[19]

The common thread in all these conceptions of cultural pluralism as achievable through programs of bilingual-bicultural education is that they rely on influencing people's attitudes and behavior rather than on changing institutions. Members of subculture groups, it is assumed, do not now participate equally in the system (a) because they are not understood and appreciated by the majority, and (b) because their own bicultural identity and skills have not been sufficiently developed. Once these two conditions have been rectified—through new educational programs—all groups will have equal access to the system.

Thus, cultural pluralism, like the concept of political pluralism, implies equality of all groups within the society. Or in Barbara Sizemore's definition, "Pluralism is the condition of cultural parity among ethnic groups in a

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[18] Multi-Lingual Assessment Project, "Culturally Democratic Learning Environments: A Cognitive Styles Approach; A Manual for Teachers," (Riverside, Calif.: Systems and Evaluations in Education, Alfredo Castaneda, Manuel Ramirez III, and P. Leslie Herold, directors, 1972 (mimeo), p. 2.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

common society."[20] Attempts to establish equality have amply demonstrated, however, that the concept ignores the relative power and status of groups in the society. For in the real world, the role they play depends on their strength and control of resources.

The ideology of political pluralism has been seriously challenged in the last two decades precisely because studies have shown that the relative power of groups differs greatly and systematically, and that equality is not achieved by the mere statement of the principle. Nor can behavior be changed through education. As Barrington Moore notes, "The complacent myth that American society is one where competing pressure groups manage through the democratic process to resolve in a peaceful fashion the social problems of advanced industrial society now stands exposed as a myth."[21]

Applying our experience and analysis of political pluralism to cultural pluralism we are forced to recognize the limitations of a concept which assumes that respect for diversity of subculture groups is likely to come about without a structure that is designed to achieve it. Respect for groups, as for individual people, is more often based on reality than persuasion and, realistically speaking, it is much more likely to emerge simultaneously with a group's acquisition of power and status than it is to precede it. This is especially true in a society with a strong tradition of "nativism" and assimilationism. The various techniques suggested to promote cultural pluralism in public education, particularly in teacher training, must be evaluated with regard to their potential effectiveness in light of those circumstances. The extent to which forceful structural and institutional mechanisms are provided to assure greater status to subculture groups will determine whether or not some meaningful pluralism can be achieved.

Student Clienteles and Institutional Responses

Education institutions in the 1970's face three clientele groups seeking

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[20] Barbara Sizemore, "Making the Schools a Vehicle for Cultural Pluralism," in Stent, Hazard and Rivlin, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[21] This footnote has been lost.

diverse ends through the single available channel. First and foremost are those who are comfortable with the mainstream culture, either as a part of it by birth or as a result of having abandoned their own subculture associations in the tradition of "making it." Second are those who have not quite assimilated or abandoned their attachments but who seek assimilation through the higher education experience and credentialing process. The third group presents perhaps the most difficulties: it is the completely nonassimilated students who seek mobility apart from the mainstream culture but have no choice but to be trained within its institutions. In addition to the actual clientele of higher education there is the large body of potential clients who remain outside the institutional system, those people who have not made sufficient adjustment to mainstream culture even to reach the status of college student.

Traditionally, American colleges and universities have been oriented solely to the first group. Their own structures, processes and goals have been an integral part of the assimilationist perspective; they have trained their students (and would-be teachers) to fit into the system. Thus, with the advent of the movement toward cultural diversity these institutions have appeared ill-equipped to respond.

But growing pressure from Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Indian (as well as some white) students began to force some changes, and in the late 1960's ethnic studies programs were demanded by the students. As a result, colleges and universities around the country created Black, La Raza, Puerto Rican, and Native American studies programs; many more added specific courses in various departments as demonstrations of broadened interest and commitment. For the most part, these changes were instituted by college administrations under pressure—not by faculties, which tended to be opposed.[22] Resistance to the creation of independent ethnic studies departments were particularly strong, since the departmental system forms the basis for the reward structure at the university. Ethnic studies programs were less of a threat than independent departments, but these were cut off from the

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[22]See, for example, Wilson Record, "Some Implications of the Black Studies Movement for Higher Education in the Seventies," *Journal of Higher Education*, 44:3, March, 1973, p. 194.

power and status that comes only with departmental standing. As things turned out, however, university faculties had little to fear from the concessions granted to students by administrators bent on self-preservation. In describing "white resistance to Black studies," for example, Allan B. Ballard says it was

> . . . most clearly evident in the areas of financing and structuring of many of the programs, administrations, in the heat of 1968-69, promised the moon to Black students. Once the programs were in operation and the students' voices had softened, Black studies directors found that their programs frequently were, as one stated, "underfinanced and understaffed." Moreover, the organizational structure of some programs, instead of being departmentalized, was such as to leave actual control over course offerings and faculty appointments in the hands of traditional academic departments while naming some Black person as "coordinator" or "director" of the program.[23]

In addition to these "designed-in" weaknesses, moreover, the programs were plagued by "a variety of roadblocks . . . erected against the development of the programs."

> These ranged from a refusal by the colleges to provide secretarial services, telephones, and office space to attempts by regular departments to duplicate, course by course, the offerings of Black studies departments in an effort to draw students away from the programs.[24]

Spurred on by increasing recognition of prior failure on the part of core culture institutions to serve subculture populations, and further prodded by the availability of federal funds for minority-related programs, a number of colleges and universities were induced to stray from their ivory tower to

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[23] Allan B. Ballard, *The Education of Black Folk* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 108-09.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

become involved in community education and research. Accordingly, during the late 1960's new institutes and programs proliferated, and urban studies programs became popular. Although they provided a relatively small number of scholars with new research and employment opportunities, these programs too were sometimes opposed by the more traditional forces in the college.

Resistance to the gains being won for minorities at colleges and universities was by no means limited to opposing programs. The institutional backlash had already manifested itself in response to revised admissions policies which were greatly increasing the number of minority students on campus. Unqualified by traditional admissions criteria, these students, many of them the beneficiaries of federally funded Educational Opportunity Programs, were seen as threats to prevailing academic standards. Similarly, adjustments in hiring policies–first in response to students' demands and later to meet affirmative action requirements–which placed more subculture professionals on the faculty and in the administrative structure were also met with charges of dangerous lowering of quality and standards.

> At most colleges, the fear of dilution of the academic quality of the institution was of such intensity that it quickly became evident to Black students and the specially recruited Black faculty that they were unwelcome guests, that the colleges were waiting for them to fail, and that the college would take every step necessary to see that a failure occurred.[25]

The high rates of attrition among specially admitted subculture students were only partly traceable to the discrepancy between the academic needs of the students and the ability of the universities to meet those needs. Social adjustment to these core culture institutions proved as much of a handicap as scholastic deficiencies. Apart from the initial "culture shock" described by many entering minority freshmen, the college experience itself proved intolerably alienating to many more. In an article entitled "Guest in a Strange House," a Harvard senior described the disillusionment awaiting Black students like himself who had come to Harvard "as late as 1969 . . . *expecting* to be accepted and absorbed into the mainstream of university life,"

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

only later to conclude that

> What has been most frustrating in my four years here is that I have found so very little in any aspect of the school that has not reflected a negative attitude toward black people and their worth as contributing members of the human race. It is that way in history courses. It is that way in English. It is that way in house activities. It is that way in sports. . . .[26]

The remedy decided upon by this writing and by his counterparts on white campuses across the country, has been self-segregation of his subgroup from most aspects of college life: "I simply have no time for those parts of the Harvard College curriculum and social life that seem to have nothing positive or relevant to offer to my experiences and goals."[27] The result has been demands by subculture students for separate facilities and programs, causing one white Harvard educator to observe:

> It is like an incredible paradox in which black students who once objected to separatism in all-black colleges now shun the mainstream of college life at Harvard and develop isolated programs of their own.[28]

At Harvard, as at many other institutions, the students' demand for a separate Black studies program was approved by a faculty "instituted by fear more than reason." And the students were far from enchanted with the result:

> I think the faculty vote reflected also a conscious desire to "give the niggers anything they want so long as it will keep them quiet." It was also, I think, an easy way of washing their hands of the whole matter, leaving to students themselves the responsibility of educating black students.[29]

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[26] Sylvester Monroe, "Guest in a Strange House: A Black at Harvard," *Saturday Review of Education* (February, 1973), p. 47.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[29] *Ibid.*

Thus the creation of separate facilities for subgroup students who isolate themselves from the college mainstream has proved far from a guarantee against continued alienation. On the contrary, it has served to put additional pressure on the institutions and raised further the line of faculty and other opposition. And to some observers, notably Martin A. Kilson, one of the most prominent Black professors at Harvard, it has itself contributed to an "academic malaise" among minority students which in turn has caused a severe downturn in academic quality.[30]

As the dust from the campus battles of the late 1960's continues to settle, the traditional values and practices have reasserted themselves. At a number of institutions, programs which persisted in challenging the assimilationist attitudes and structures of the university were simply discontinued, or their staffs dismissed—as happened, for example, in the La Raza studies program at Fresno State College. In fact, the phasing out of ethnic studies departments seems likely to be one effect of California's recent law known as the Ryan bill, which mandates the establishment in education departments throughout the state university system of multicultural degree programs. Examples of retrenchment on minority gains at white institutions abound. At Vassar College recently the college president abolished the post of assistant to the president for Black affairs, which had been created after a sit-in by Black students in 1969, on the grounds that "there was no further need for the special office." After renewed student demonstrations and the resignation of Vassar's only two Black faculty members with Ph.D.'s, the office was quickly reinstated by unanimous vote of the board of trustees.[31] And at Harvard, the college faculty has moved to reassert its control over policies affecting Black students. The new steps, as outlined approvingly by Kilson, include abolishing students' hard-won rights to participation in the academic affairs of the Afro-American Studies Department, establishing "an interdisciplinary faculty committee—*exclusive* of the AASD—to select new scholars for permanent appointments jointly in Afro-American studies and an established department, and [arranging] for a successor to the present chairman."[32]

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[30] Martin A. Kilson, "The Black Experience at Harvard," *New York Times Magazine* (September 2, 1973), p. 12.

[31] *The New York Times* (December 9, 1973), p. 53.

[32] Kilson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

Perhaps in recognition of the need to accommodate the needs of the new subgroup population of students outside the established university structure, a movement has developed in many states to expand two-year colleges and vocationally oriented post-secondary programs.[33] Many of these schools are located in the neighborhoods housing these populations, and many of them have expended far greater efforts than the universities to recruit more faculty of the same background as the subculture groups. Perhaps best described as geographic ethnic colleges, they have also found it easier to break with some of the traditional constraints of longer-established institutions. But at a time when members of subculture groups are both weary and wary of being shunted off into society's scrap heap of dead-end "post secondary" programs with little or no relevance either for further individual advancement or for community development, these colleges are still controlled by the traditional forces in higher education, generally part of larger state university and city systems.

To a large extent, it is dissatisfaction with the responses of core culture-based universities and colleges that has fostered the development of alternate independent colleges controlled and run by the subculture group. The argument was and is that only the subgroup community itself can develop the kind of program and structure suitable to its needs and respectful of its culture. Cultural pluralism (defined as cultural parity among ethnic groups in a common society), it is held, can only evolve from that independence. Of direct relevance to this position are a number of past traditions in American life, both in higher education and in the history of groups previously excluded from the American system. Higher education in America has seen the development of separate religious-based institutions, Negro colleges, and land grant colleges, the latter devoted to the needs of rural populations. And as Barbara Sizemore has pointed out,

> Previously excluded groups formed group mobility vehicles outside the public schools for they dared not depend on A institutions contrived to promote the best interest of A. Jewish groups pulled themselves up around the synagogue and the

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[33] See, for instance, Leland L. Medsher and Dale Tillary, *Breaking the Access Barriers: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971).

multitude of organizations and associations protecting the Jewish community. The Irish Catholics used the Roman Catholic Church. The Chinese had the tong, the Sicilians the Mafia. These models have been labeled Power-Inclusion Models.[34]

Once again, then, the search for the best course for social and institutional change poses the choice between attempting to change existing structures or creating new alternatives. And as usual, valid answers lie in both directions.

In teacher training programs, largely in universities and college education departments, student pressure for change was accompanied by growing public criticism of the failure of school systems to relate to the needs of subculture students. This naturally led to concerns about the character of teacher training and of teachers in those systems. Charges of lack of both respect and responsiveness to subculture group needs and values were made. At least part of the solution was viewed as the need for expanded recruitment of subculture populations to be trained as teachers. Further was a growing emphasis for bilingual teachers who could communicate with students. Bilingualism without biculturalism was soon recognized as too limited in its scope and intention by groups confronting these (monocultural institutions). The shortage of curriculum materials on all levels, and often the lack of data and research on these groups suggested even greater vacuums in knowledge and ability to cope with demands.

Efforts to adjust teacher training programs' perspectives in traditional institutions, and more often in new and alternate institutions, were faced with constraints and limitations in state education departments' credentialing requirements and in the inflexible certification and accreditation standards of professional associations who saw their role as defenders of the system as it was. It was they, after all, who had created the system and were responsible for running it and maintaining it. These problems are particularly acute for

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[34] Barbara A. Sizemore, "Making the Schools a Vehicle for Cultural Pluralism," in Madelon D. Stent, William R. Hazard, and Harry N. Rivlin (eds.), *Cultural Pluralism in Education: A Mandate for Change* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), p. 45. Also, see Barbara A. Sizemore, "Separatism: A Reality Approach to Inclusion?" in Robert L. Green (ed.), *Racial Crisis in American Education* (Chicago: Follett Educational Corporation, 1969), pp. 249-79.

new alternate institutions which must go through the process of accreditation.

By focusing on the three categories of clientele in higher education in the 1970's, one can see differences in the means adopted to meet pressures for implementing a culturally pluralistic approach. For core culture populations, the majority of university teacher training programs rely on sensitivity- and human relations-style sessions, that is, courses and programs which are directed at changing attitudes and behavior through exploring differences and learning about different cultures. Ethnic studies courses and/or courses in the philosophic underpinnings of the cultural pluralism concept have now become more common in these programs. Field-based teacher training and in-service retraining are a further expansion of this effort, with the added dimension of direct and early exposure to the subculture population. Often these programs make a special effort to recruit more subculture faculty. Too often that new faculty falls in the adjunct category and lacks full status in the department. As for their impact, there are no empirical evaluations available which would verify that changes are occurring. Participants in these programs, however, are generally optimistic about results.

For subculture college populations which have made some strong movement toward assimilation university teacher training programs have presented still other problems. At New Mexico Highlands University, which is part of the New Mexico system but geographically located in a completely Chicano community and which now is changing its orientation to Chicano student and community interests, many of the teacher training candidates are caught in the middle. Faculty indicate that these students have an identity problem, because they accepted core culture standards and approaches and are now faced with counter subculture emphasis. Many of them abandoned language as well as culture and must now rethink their roles. At Highlands, the field teacher training takes place both in Guadalajara, Mexico and Las Vegas, New Mexico in an attempt to demonstrate to teachers-in-training adjustments and differences in Mexican culture and Mexican-American culture patterns. In more thoroughly Anglo institutions, e.g., the University of New Mexico, Alburquerque, where the proportion of these students is still small, the needs and institutional responses are different. Ethnic studies courses and emphasis on conceptual analysis of cultural pluralist concepts are more common. Teacher training programs remain more traditional in these institutions, and in some ways make it easier for these more assimilated students to function.

Conflicts about their own development and new roles, for example, are less likely to occur. These universities are also less inclined to recruit those students who are not assimilated and who might challenge traditional norms; this applies particularly to paraprofessionals working in community schools. From an institutional perspective, although more minority faculty are recruited, the programs remain rather traditional with perhaps only a greater emphasis on the bilingual thrust.

This issue was discussed in several interviews with faculty and program heads at Anglo institutions, and although they recognize the potential for training larger numbers of subculture professionals by reaching into the paraprofessional-teaching assistant category, they complain that university requirements at best do not permit more than A.A. degree arrangements to be made. Even the recent emphasis on field based training has not stimulated more effort to pursue degree teacher training of these teacher assistants who come out of the community.

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Federal and state funding programs have probably provided the greatest stimulus to any efforts toward adjusting teacher training to cultural pluralist goals. It has also induced modest movement toward reaching subculture populations as a teacher training clientele. In the context of total teacher training enterprises, however, such efforts appear to be minimal. Again, there are no evaluations of these programs to identify success or failure to accomplish goals; most often goals are not clearly articulated and measurements of progress have yet to be developed. The bilingual-bicultural program at UC Riverside does attempt some measures of knowledge and attitudes before and after the program but the administrators of the program do claim limited confidence in both the procedures and the results.

It is noteworthy that teacher training programs—or more precisely, departments or schools of education—in these universities have limited contact with ethnic studies programs that have been instituted in their own universities. Such resources are rarely used by teacher training programs, and in fact competition often develops over courses which are attempting to provide insights into the cultural heritage of a particular group. In some cases, ethnic studies programs and faculty may themselves be guilty of preferring isolation on the campus and of choosing not to influence teacher training programs and their failure to become part of the traditional college structure may well result in their ultimate demise. An interesting circumstance has developed in

that regard under recently approved California legislation which requires teachers in training to receive training in multicultural programs. Education schools and departments are encouraged to develop these programs as a part of their credentialing power and it is anticipated that they will avoid even more the ethnic studies program courses which have been available. Ethnic studies faculties in these institutions indicated their concern that the legislation, while well intentioned, may be the excuse for abandonment of ethnic studies by traditional Anglo institutions. At Fresno State College, the Education Department and the college liberal arts planning had already excluded the Black and La Raza studies programs from the plans to meet these state teacher training requirements.

Measuring the effectiveness of teacher training programs with regard to their stated purpose of expanding consciousness of multicultural phenomenon is a difficult task. Given the fact that we have yet to determine operational procedures for judging who are the better teachers, our evaulation of whether programs are training better teachers is severely limited. Obviously, traditional quantitative measures that relate to dollar inputs or test score outputs are the most readily available procedures but are particularly unsatisfactory in this context. If the purpose of the cultural pluralist thrust is cultural democracy, as Castaneda[35] maintains, we must evaluate what structure and/or procedures are best able to achieve these ends, and translate them into teacher training programs. If attitudinal changes are sought, differences in goals related to concepts of self-identity and group consciousness too often confuse measurements of results. As this report suggests, the answers may vary according to the category of student being related to—in fact the determination of the clientele selected to train as teachers and of who trains them is itself an output as well as an input.

The third category of student clientele which universities must confront in this decade are the growing number of nonassimilated subculture students and, perhaps even more significant, potential students (those not being reached by the university because they do not meet traditional admissions standards). Indeed, if cultural pluralism is characterized by the presence in a society of subculture groups which have managed to keep their subcultural

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[35] See footnote 18.

identities intact, then this third group is the one whose destiny is most inextricably tied in with the eventual achievement of cultural pluralism. With the exception of the geographic ethnic colleges referred to above, Anglo institutions of higher education are not oriented toward this population. Some of them, as we have seen, are returning to familiar patterns of operation after brief, half-hearted experiments in accommodation to minority needs. But their own institutional structure and assimilationist mode, they have found, do not permit them to relate significantly to this population.

It is probably as a result of this fact of life that new alternative institutions of higher education have emerged. These new institutions are community based and community (subculture) oriented. They were founded by indigenous leaders who recognized the severe limitations of traditional institutions. Robert Hoover, one of the founders of Nairobi College in East Palo Alto, California, indicated that the stimulus for the creation of the college was clearly the inability of Black students to succeed in Anglo institutions. He further stresses the failure of those institutions to train people to serve in their own communities. That combination of motivations led the East Palo Alto group to build an indigenous structure from day care through college to perform these functions for themselves. Only recently this group took over control of the local Ravenswood School District, and now sees its role as building teacher training and retraining in the school district. Similarly, the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation has moved toward expansion of teacher training in the school itself rather than at the Anglo universities. Both, however, must face the overwhelming problems of accreditation, which continues to rest in the traditional universities and state departments of education. Funding for staffing such programs is also a major concern.

Several alternate institutions, seemingly more within the Chicano community, are a direct outgrowth of failure to establish meaningful programs in Anglo institutions. Universidad de Aztlan, D-Q, Jacinto-Trevino, and Juarez-Lincoln were started by Chicano or Indian faculty formerly attached to larger traditional institutions who claim their effort was a fruitless one and not possible to accomplish. Their view is that only institutions which are a part of the community, and directed toward its interests and needs, can adequately train professionals to serve the community. They further suggest that cultural pluralism can only be effected as a product of their establishing status and independence through separate institutions. The distinctive character of these

alternate community (subculture)-oriented and run institutions is the development of an ideology and/or strategy which is related to larger purposes and goals.

Although clear differences are apparent in the character and thrust of such institutions, there remains that specific commitment to independent status as a means of achieving status and respect in a culturally pluralistic society. The range of purpose is evident in the dispersal model of the Indian colleges (other than NCC) which see their immediate role as developing satellite institutions throughout the reservations to reach people and meet needs on an immediate level. At the Sinte Gleska Rosebud Sioux community college, this includes training carpenters and road builders and providing an immediate functional role for them in the community. Students are a part of the community and are trained to contribute to the development of the community. The dispersal model is antithetical to the traditional Anglo concept of a large central structure and administration. The response to immediate community needs and interests is also contrary to the traditional concept of the university as a collection of books and scholars dedicated to pursuing and dispensing a specific body of knowledge. It also violates the notion of the "neutral," truth-seeking university removed from community problems.

Because the underlying goals of these alternate colleges is the training of indigenous populations to service their own communities, staffing of the faculties as well as recruitment of students is more totally subculture based. This often means traditional standards for staff recruitment and student admissions are ignored. In several instances, uncredentialed or even uneducated (in the formal sense of the term) community persons are recruited as staff. The Rough Rock teacher training program, for instance, uses a local Navajo medicine man to teach Navajo culture to its teacher trainees. These practices naturally would present great difficulties to state education departments and accreditation agencies who are facing evaluations of these institutions. The new institutions themselves are burdened with the problem of accreditation particularly when they are in early periods of development. They cannot attract some students because of their inability to provide credit and/or licensing in professions. For some, this is worked out with larger flexible institutions like University Without Walls (UWW) or specific universities; Sinte Gleske uses Black Hills State, South Dakota State, and University of Colorado Graduate School; Rough Rock is using UNM. But generally, the

maximum they have succeeded in getting is A.A. credit. None have yet achieved status for the B.A. degree.

A more detailed exploration of these alternate institutions is appropriate to understanding their role and function, and the section on Community-Based Colleges attempts to do that.

This survey of clienteles and institutional response suggests that a variety of options have developed according to the kinds of institutions relating to the problem. Given the distinctive differences in the kinds of clientele, this is probably most appropriate. An evaluation of their impact must relate back to purpose, values and intentions, and all types of institutions cannot, therefore, be judged on the same bases.

University-Based Teacher Training and Cultural Pluralism

The call in recent years for cultural pluralism in education has found a major response in established Anglo universities; part of this response has taken the form of special programs and/or "institutes" aimed at training or retraining personnel in the public schools. There were two major pressures on the traditional universities, student and community demands for ethnic studies programs and increased hiring of minority faculty members, and attractive new sources of outside funding for such programs.

In general, the efforts of these programs fall into one or both of two categories. Some concentrate on training, to sensitize future or in-service teachers to the cultural attributes of their pupils, while others work on designing curriculum modules or materials oriented to a particular subculture group. A number of programs combine both training and curriculum development. The programs have also provided research and career-enhancing opportunities for education specialists in such areas as psychology, anthropology, linguistics, reading, curriculum development and the like. Nearly all of them are based on bilingual and/or bicultural approaches in education.

Because attempts to institute these new programs were resisted in the traditional departments, they were for the most part established as separate entities with their own administrative structures and staffs and as appendages to the university. As a rule, these programs posed no threat to the

institutional structures or the broader policies of the universities to which they were tied. Many, in fact, had astonishingly little contact with traditional departments and regular faculty which logically would share its interests. The fact that they were not incorporated into the permanent university structure but remained relatively isolated is an indication, perhaps, of a limited institutional commitment to the concepts and practices of cultural pluralism as it relates to the schools. Ethnic studies people around the country have indicated their concern that they were unable to influence established college programs and procedures, or to establish their own status; and now in a period of budget crisis, they are likely to be the most expendable programs on campus.

In order to survive in their university settings, moreover, many special programs themselves engage in activities which are not too different from traditional departmental practices. In the case of teacher training or education research, much effort is directed at discovering the conditions and methods which are most conducive to learning in culturally different children. This approach is particularly compatible with the needs of larger universities to maintain their current structure.

Attempts to accommodate the particular learning styles of minority group children, and seeking to insure respect in the classroom for children's cultural values, however, is not necessarily an accepted model. Most specialists assume that there is a single learning style appropriate to Anglo children which should be reflected both in the teaching styles of most teachers trained at majority institutions and on the job at Anglo public schools. Since the values implicit in these teaching styles are alien to what are perceived as the values of the cultural subgroup in question, an alternate set of teaching strategies is sought. From a recognition of the unitary values reflected in majority public schools there seems to come the questionable inference that a unitary alternative should be developed for use with children of a cultural subgroup. But this is a misreading and over-simplification of the situation in majority schools, where the failure to recognize diversity of learning styles and values even among children of the *same* cultural group has been an issue for some time. The value which is cited most often as a particularly salient feature of traditional teaching methods is the encouragement of competition among children to boost performance. Competitiveness, it is pointed out, is antithetical to the cooperative ethic which Native Americans', say, children learn at home. Indian children are unable to adapt to the alien methods and thus do

not learn. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the values which admittedly predominate in the educational system are universally shared by Anglos. On the contrary, some white parents are opposed to the competitive ethic and are themselves forced into trying to overcome at home what they consider alien values fostered at their children's school. The question, then, is whether new programs aimed at specific minority groups might not make a similar error by assuming there is a single set of values appropriate to a subculture group, and that it can be captured in a curriculum or a training program.

All this is not to deny the considerable utility there is in analyzing and identifying the values which certainly do underlie teaching methods in the majority of public schools. Nor is it to say that alternate values or values which seem to predominate in subcultures should not be researched and articulated as part of an effort to understand the learning needs of children who might have them. It is merely to point out the potential danger in presuming to replace one set of perceived values with another as the basis of an educational program for any group of children whose "only" basis of commonality is a shared cultural background. To do so would be to deny the spectrums of opinion and values within each minority community.

The presumption of a set of values discoverable within a subcultural group which may then be teachable gives rise to a problem other than that everyone may not agree with them. For once values are identified, it must be decided what to do with them. Although it is one thing to understand and respect a set of values and quite another to adopt or promote them, the separating line can be a fine one. Few people would be willing to say that *all* the identifiable values of a particular group are positive and worthy of being promoted. (To test that statement one would only think of some of the values which feature prominently in Anglo society.) Yet to teach explicitly from a set of values is implicitly to accept them as good.

Take, for example, a program such as Project Follow Through at UC Riverside. This program has designed a curriculum for Mexican-American pupils which includes the training of teachers in "culture matching teaching strategies." That is to say, a manual has been produced in which certain aspects of Chicano culture—such as the primary importance of family relationships, the cooperative ethic, the emphasis on modeling behavior—are identified and translated into prescriptions for teacher behaviors which will

reinforce them (see page 56), for example, ways to reward acts of cooperation or ways to encourage emulation of desired behavior. One of the categories is called "Showing sensitivity to appropriate sex roles"; here teachers are directed to accept and encourage the sex role stereotypes of the children--to "respect boys' attempts to be 'manly' (e.g.) when they show bravery," to "admire girls' attempts at self-adornment" and not to challenge the children's concepts of what are "boys' activities" and "girls' activities." Predetermined role distinctions based on sex, a notion which is also deeply embedded in mainstream white society, would seem likely to be a value open at least to discussion if not clear-cut disagreement.

If an educational program is explicitly to incorporate cultural values, then one is faced with a choice either of treating *all* the subcultural values as good, which seems absurd, or of differentiating between good (or positive, productive, constructive) values to be adopted and bad (negative, counter productive, destructive) values to be avoided or overcome. Since these choices are ultimately matters of preference rather than of fact, the question arises: who is to make these choices, and according to what criteria?

It would be futile, incidentally, to suppose that the choices themselves may be avoided. Even if it were possible (and it is not) to teach without values, few people would try to do so. It has always been a prime function of public education to help induct young people into society by inculcating them with certain desirable values and suppressing certain undesirable ones. The problem for minority groups in this country has been that the choices were made for them, and too often at their expense.

If the movement for cultural pluralism in education means anything, it means that any choices to be made regarding the cultural values represented in the classroom will be made by the individual cultural groups themselves--and not imposed by a dominant but alien majority. It is no doubt in recognition of this principle that many of the university-based bilingual, bicultural programs described here (including UC Riverside's Follow Through Project) were established by faculty members whose ethnicity was the same as those at whom the programs were directed. The challenge has been taken up, it might appear, by those very subgroup individuals who are uniquely placed to make informed, authoritative choices on behalf of their people. This, in any event, is what has occurred, as minority faculty have designed and directed various programs from their university bases.

There are a number of reasons, however, why this may be a less than satisfactory solution. For one, the established universities and teacher training institutions themselves have been largely responsible for instilling and perpetuating the very values and practices which have been found to undermine cultural pluralism. The values at these traditional institutions, moreover, are as much a product of institutionalized structures, attitudes and practices as they are of more readily changeable curriculum content. In light of the values implicit in the university "culture," values with which any full-fledged participant in the culture must necessarily reach an accommodation, it would seem highly questionable once again to look to these tradition-bound institutions for primary leadership in making critical education choices. This in fact seems to be the conclusion reached by a number of formerly university-based minority members who have left to found their own *community*-based institutions.

But even in these new institutions the question remains: who is to make these choices for community-based education? If the object is to avoid the past experience of values and choices being imposed from outside, then the answer would seem to be that the community itself must make those choices. For the most part, the new alternate institutions have not reproduced the elitist, professionally-oriented reward structures and value systems of the universities (although some have). They have structured themselves according to the immediate needs of the communities they serve, not according to institutional needs of a self-serving university. They have looked for ways directly to incorporate the communities they serve into the decision-making process. The fact that they have done these things in a variety of ways merely serves to underscore the diversity of values and possible approaches within each minority community. The important thing is that they are truly community-based institutions. (The other reason is that the solution does not lie in replacing one set of values with a new one, but in providing the institutional means for minority communities to arrive at their *own* set of values.)

In order for minority community members to participate intelligently in decision making, they must be adequately informed of the choices. Therefore, to the extent that university-sponsored educational programs contribute to their knowledge by involving parents and other community members, they are providing a real service. They also perform an important service in laying a theoretical framework for the articulation of cultural values from which the

communities will make their choices. This is a research function which some of the community-based colleges may not be immediately equipped to handle. In short, there is a place for both.

By reviewing the publicity for some of the "innovative" teacher training programs in traditional universities one can glean the general scope of practices designed to increase teacher sensitivity to subculture needs.

In 1966 Central Missouri State College received the distinguished achievement award for excellence in teacher education of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. The award recognized the college's development and implementation of an education program for prospective teachers of the culturally different child.

The program was cooperatively developed by an instructional team composed of faculty members from the fields of sociology, psychology, reading and education. The inner-city program provides for two consecutive twelve-week blocks taken during the student's senior year. Block I correlates professional subject matter with orientation to the inner-city. Activities on campus are seminars, discussions, lectures and work in the materials center. Off-campus activities include extensive visits to inner-city homes, schools, and public and private agencies, and conferences with personnel from these institutions. Block II is full-time inner-city student teaching combined with on-the-job seminars under the supervision of the staff and involving professionals from the Kansas City schools and public and private agencies of Kansas City.

In the spring of 1964, an elementary student teaching program in disadvantaged area schools was initiated at the University of Minnesota. Previously students were randomly selected and placed in lower, middle or high-income area schools. It has finally been realized that those student teachers and teachers placed in urban area/low income schools required special assistance and guidance to be effective in those schools. To begin with, the selection criteria called for: students with satisfactory academic records; successful work experience with groups of children in the youth activities community program in their junior year; well-adjusted, mature individuals as indicated by personal autobiographies and records; and most important, exceptional teaching ability and flexibility during their first quarter of student teaching. Potential candidates who were recommended by their

first-quarter university supervisors were given the option of taking their second student teaching experience in an inner-city school, or remaining in a middle or upper-income area.

There was extensive interaction between university supervisors and target-area schools' personnel. Within two years, the special program was made a permanent part of the student teaching department at the University of Minnesota. There continues to be community involvement in the form of seminars conducted by resource people from the area.

The central objective of the Tufts University project and their "inter-group relations curriculum" is to advance young people toward behavioral objectives which will bring "the realities of human relations in our nation much closer to the great ideals of the democratic doctrine." Their program was developed with the understanding that one of the great needs of education in the United States was to develop tools for learning and teaching strategies, especially at the elementary school level, designed to help grade school students have a better balanced picture of the racial and cultural differences which influenced the growth of American life and which play such a vital role in our contemporary society.

The University of Georgia education model is based on the hypothesis that an effective teacher education program is built around the job which the teacher performs. In their view the schools are agents to pass on the values and knowledge of society, they have stated eight values which this model attempts to further:

1. Respect for the worth and dignity of every individual
2. Faith in man's capacity to make rational decisions
3. Shared responsibility for the common good
4. Moral and religious values
5. Emotional health
6. Competence, even excellence for all
7. Respect for the democratic process
8. Pluralism

Many programs of this style and thrust have been adopted in Anglo institutions around the country. This study looked at some of the most publicized of these.

Follow Through Project, University of California at Riverside

The Follow Through Project, a federally funded program based at the University of California at Riverside, provides a complete teaching and learning package for the primary grades (K - 3) in a local school, Cucamonga Elementary School. Its director is Manuel Ramirez, a psychologist whose research on culturally-related learning styles forms the theoretical foundation of the program. Ramirez has found that Anglo children and Mexican-American children each have their own "preferred" learning styles which result from their respective cultural environments. Most teachers, however, teach to the Anglo learning style. To leave the child no choice but to adopt the unfamiliar learning style would be to deny that child's cultural identity and so to violate the principle of cultural democracy. This latter concept was developed by Castaneda,[36] and is basic to the UC program. It refers to each child's right to his own cultural identity. It is the core concept of the Follow Through program, which is also known as the Project for Development of Culturally Democratic Learning Environments.

The best way to achieve these culturally democratic learning environments, it was felt, would be to open up lines of communication and understanding between the classroom and the home. The participation of parents in the educational process was considered essential. Parents are thus encouraged to visit classrooms, to work with the children and to contribute where they can to the bilingual-bicultural curriculum. The school staff includes four teacher-parent associates who act as liaison, visiting homes to explain the program, encourage visits to the school, deliver home-study packages for parents to work on with children and encourage participation in school workshops and the Parents Advisory Committee. This latter body makes recommendations on school and project policy; its role may best be indicated, perhaps, by a line from a project brochure which states that their suggestions "are almost always useful when it comes time for curriculum revision." The workshops are designed further to acquaint parents with the school administration, the district, and the program, as well as to teach them to use the take-home learning materials. Several parents have also been recruited to instruct in the Spanish as a Second Language for Teachers program. There is

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[36] See footnote 18.

no mechanism for the rating of teacher performance by parents, although we were told they "know what's going on. Once when they were dissatisfied with a teacher, the parents were able to get rid of her."

All teachers and teacher associates (paraprofessionals, one per teacher) are trained in what are called "culture and cognitive style matching teaching strategies," developed by the project staff. These strategies are intended to make teachers sensitive to the cultural values and learning styles of Mexican-American children. Ramirez and his associates have worked out detailed behavior patterns for teachers in given situations which serve not only to recognize, but also to reinforce what they have identified as cultural values of Mexican-Americans. Some examples of prescribed behaviors include the following:

- The teacher and associate should communicate with the child through hugs, pats, having him or her sit on her lap, meaningful looks, smiles, putting her arm around the child.
- They should tell (the children) things about their own life, show them pictures of their families, have their families visit their school sometimes.
- The teacher should encourage a cooperative attitude about classroom behavior. She should point out that good behavior reflects on everyone in the room.

And under "Showing sensitivity to sex roles":

- The teacher or associate should respect boys' attempts to be "manly" when they show bravery, boast that "It doesn't hurt," etc. She should admire girls' attempts at self-adornment ("What a pretty ribbon you have in your hair.")

Other phases of the training include a Spanish as a Second Language for Teachers program, which prepares teachers and associates to present classroom lessons in Spanish; in-service and summer training workshops; and a method called "bug-in-the-ear," consisting of a wireless device worn by the teacher through which the trainers ("teacher supervisor" on the Project staff) give instant suggestions and feedback during the actual teaching process.

This teacher training program is unrelated administratively to the

university's School of Education, or any other department, although there is close cooperation with the department of Chicano Studies. Moreover, due evidently to an unresponsive dean, there is "little cooperation or communication" between the Follow Through Project and the Education School. Training of Follow Through teachers is funded by the federal government and operated through the Follow Through office. Paraprofessionals trained by Follow Through may receive junior college credits from Chaffee Junior College, but other than a single summer extension course, UC Riverside gives no credits for the program. Ramirez teaches a course called "Issues in Bilingual, Bicultural Education" in Chicano studies.

The program has reached between forty and fifty teachers and aides in its five years of operation, including nine this year, six of whom are Chicano. All aides in Follow Through classrooms are trained along with the teachers. Several have gone on to get B.A.'s, but at other colleges, not UCR: "There's a problem in funding here."

Minority Group Cultural Awareness Center (University of New Mexico)

Funded by Title IV of the Civil Rights Act and attached to the College of Education at UNM, is the Minority Group Cultural Awareness Center, directed by John Aragon, designed to promote activities and provide services which will lead to mutual respect and understanding among members of different cultural groups within the State of New Mexico. The activities take the form of seminars and workships in local school districts, and technical assistance in the areas of curriculum change and the development of new materials to reflect the cultural diversity in the state and "minimize the damaging effects of the imposition of a single culture" in the schools. These services generally are provided at the invitation of local school officials.

The Center obviously operates on the premise that the educational problems of minority children result from an insufficient "awareness" of subculture groups on the part of school people. The workshop it provides for teachers, for example, focuses on a culture by breaking it down into component categories, such as modes of dress, food and drink, songs and dances, history, and so forth. The materials it recommends place heavy emphasis on "minority group cultural heroes and the overall contributions of minorities to United States culture." All this presumably will encourage in the recipients

of this knowledge (i.e. teachers) new attitudes of respect and understanding which will then be reflected in improved classroom behavior. (It might be added that since the Center deals with school faculties throughout the state, the majority of its "recipients" are Anglo teachers.)

The chain of assumptions here—that educational failure can be checked by changing teacher behavior, and that changes in teacher behavior can be effected by changing attitudes, and that attitudes can be changed by providing better understanding through more information—seems calculated more to delay decisive change than to promote it. It would certainly be difficult to conceive of an approach less threatening to the basic structure of established educational institutions. This may in part account for the position of respect which the Center enjoys within the College of Education, where it has been operating for over four years. The cautious approach which appears as the Center's hallmark was vividly summed up, in fact, during an interview with the associate director, who remarked, "When we're giving a workshop for, say, 50 teachers in a school somewhere, we figure that if we manage to alienate or upset just one, even one, of those teachers, then we haven't done our job. We can't afford to turn anybody off."

Institute for Cultural Pluralism, California State University, San Diego

The Institute for Cultural Pluralism is an administrative agency within the School of Education at San Diego State University, where its main purpose is to coordinate and carry out the school's Multi-Cultural Education plan. The Institute itself is in its second year, having spent its first year with the College of Education at the University of New Mexico.

The ICP was formed independently in 1972 under an agreement with Teacher Corps. The plan was for the Institute to attach itself to a College of Education where it would promote and coordinate the college's research and program development in the area of cultural pluralism. Once established, Teacher Corps agreed to fund the Institute to provide technical assistance to local Teacher Corps projects. The university would have to undertake a certain amount of administrative support of the Institute. After a survey of universities whose philosophies of education were compatible with ICP's goals, terms were reached with UNM, which was developing a multi-cultural program and looked to the Institute to assist in its implementation.

During its year in Albuquerque (1972-73), the Institute engaged in a variety of activities. Perhaps the one most representative of the Institute's work was its efforts to develop and field test a series of instructional modules for its Oral Language Assessment Training (OLAT) program. OLAT is a training package designed to provide teachers both with a greater awareness of language functions and variations and with diagnostic abilities which would enable them to make individualized prescriptions according to each child's language competence. These two phases are two components of a projected six, which together will compose a comprehensive training program for cultural pluralism called Community, Home Cultural Awareness and Language Training (CHCALT). The other components are a philosophy of education for the culturally and linguistically different; cultural-home-community awareness; a pool of specific instructional objectives and leading strategies; and finally, strategies for effecting positive change in the system.

Thus far, only the linguistic phases (OLAT) have been developed. (Actually, work had begun on OLAT before the Institute located at UNM. M. Reyes Mazon, director of the Institute and architect of CHCALT, had been working under a Teacher Corps grant since 1970, and had field tested the OLAT modules at four university sites in the Spring of 1972. Hence, last year was a period of refinement and further testing.) In addition, a collection of essays by Mexican-American scholars edited by Mazon will be published in February, 1974,[37] and will serve as the basis for a "philosophy" of Mexican-American education; a similar plan is projected for Black and Native Americans. The model does not include provision for development of its own multicultural learning materials. Instead, the aim is to train teachers to be able to judge available materials and to select those most appropriate to the goals of cultural pluralism.

Other than its work in assisting Teacher Corps projects, and its own language-oriented research, the Institute ran evaluations of school programs in bilingual-bicultural education, sponsored workshops, and field tested bilingual learning materials during its year at UNM. In the meantime, it sought to use its university base to "contaminate" other departments, that is, to

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[37] Manuel Reyes Mazon (ed.), *Adelante: An Emerging Design for Mexican-American Education* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1974).

influence them to become more aware of cultural pluralism in education. As already mentioned, the university was responsible for providing the Institute with a certain amount of administrative support. This support was severely compromised, however, when a College of Education Faculty Policy Committee on Multi-Cultural Education recommended establishment of a rival multi-cultural education office; consequently, Teacher Corps refused to renew its contract with the Institute at UNM, and a new location was sought. It is difficult to ascertain precisely the reason for the withdrawal of university support. According to one explanation, it was caused by a political situation in which Mexican-American faculty, as the largest and strongest minority group, can dominate policy decisions on multi-cultural education, and they objected to the Institute's dividing its attention among several ethnic groups (there are OLAT modules, for instance, dealing with Black English phonology and grammar). Another version attributes it to "militancy" on the part of the Mexican-American faction, and a consequent rejection of the Institute as too conservative and "safe."

In any case, the ICP has now found a home at San Diego State University (though it has retained a "satellite" center at UNM), where it is responsible for Multi-Cultural Education in the School of Education. Its job will be to carry out inservice training for faculty and students to coordinate research and development, and to facilitate inservice training in local school districts, all in the area of cultural pluralism. Most important, it will prepare the School of Education's plan for a degree program in bilingual, cross-cultural education, as mandated this year for all education schools in California's university system. With this inceptive from the state legislature as a possible factor, San Diego State has already provided the Institute with substantial support, especially compared to the situation at UNM. A key to this support is the University's new Dean of Education, Tomas Arceniegas, whose commitment to the Institute is known to be strong. In addition to office space and facilities supplied by the university, a number of faculty members from various departments are assigned one-quarter time to the Institute, and its director, M. Reyes Mazon, has been appointed an associate professor of education.

The Institute will continue to do its own research in pursuit of its ultimate aim: completion of the CHCALT model for cultural pluralism, a fully developed, comprehensive teacher training package with components to fit any cultural subgroup in any part of the country. Moreover, it is geared

to train any teacher regardless of cultural background. The premise upon which the model is based is that the educational system itself is essentially sound, but that "the people in it are ignorant and insensitive. Most teachers are themselves so culturally deprived, they're destructive." Therefore, what is needed for the system to function as it should is for teachers to be changed through training. They need sensitivity and they need skills, and both of these are provided by the CHCALT model.

There are a number of aspects of the Institute for Cultural Pluralism which make it highly compatible with a traditional university structure. One of these, as just pointed out, is its basic assumption that there is no need for institutional change in education, and that achieving cultural pluralism is merely a matter of improving the attitudes and skills of teachers vis-a-vis culturally different children. The ICP thus poses no real threat to either the university or to any other institution within the educational system. For another thing, the Institute shares with traditional university disciplines an educational orientation according to which program content is determined by professionals at the university, and then made available to any generalized "student" who wishes to partake of it. The training "model" is developed in the abstract, and is thus transferable; the fact that it is not dependent on any specific population or location or situation is considered a strength. For example, although the recruitment and training of minority persons is highly desired, it is not critical to this program, which can function adequately without them. Much less is the model geared to recruiting nonprofessionals from indigenous populations. In short, the Institute fits in comfortably at the university, carrying out conventional university functions. Its almost exclusive preoccupation in its own research with linguistics is a prime example, as is its emphasis on producing "institutional modules."

New Mexico Highlands University

Although part of the state university system, New Mexico Highlands University has the distinction of having a majority of students–about 60 per cent–who are Chicano. It is located, moreover, in a city which is overwhelmingly Chicano–Las Vegas, New Mexico–though it attracts students from all over the state. As a result largely of demands from a militant student body, Highlands has undergone some sweeping changes in the past two years. The chief factor has probably been the hiring of a new president, Frank Angel,

who initiated new faculty recruitment policies under which the number of Mexican-American professors went from five to twenty-six the first year, with the figure even higher this year. This contributed to the already high level of political activism among students by adding allies on the faculty. By the Fall of 1973, the situation was such that the administration, responsible for the new policies itself, came under attack as too moderate, and student pickets and demonstrators were demanding the ouster of President Angel.

The Education Department, too, has been overhauled, with a new Chicano chairperson and many new faculty members. One outcome of the changes has been a new awareness of community needs. As Cecilio Orozco, director of the field based teacher training program and one of the "new wave" professors, put it: "Two years ago the university was very insulated; now we have tentacles stretching into all communities in this area. Since the changes in administration, we've become more community service oriented. It used to be that a professor would go and sell a course to a community as an extension. Now, we ask what *they* need. We design courses–including sequences–from what they tell us, and then we teach them to be teachers and aides." For the most part, it is school people that Orozco and his colleagues talk to. Occasionally they will meet directly with community people to inform parents about their program and convince them it should be adopted by the school. Another link to the schools and communities which has been useful as a vehicle for changes and contacts has been special programs within the department, such as Teacher Corps.

The training of teachers in Mexican-American culture, according to Orozco, must receive top priority if the needs of Chicano children are to be met. "In bicultural education, we built cars [programs] before we had produced any drivers for them. Now the cars are out there running into trees. So now we are trying to train teachers to run them." An early effort of the Center was a pilot summer program for graduates in Guadalajara, Mexico. There students could become immersed, as it were, in their backgrounds, speaking Spanish, studying Mexican history and culture, and observing various cultural activities and institutions. An evaluation of the program concluded, however, that students had been too far removed from their own Chicano milieu in New Mexico, and although they had learned a great deal about Mexican culture, they had an even stronger need to learn about their own communities. The program has now become a nine-month Masters program.

The students, recent graduates of universities all over the state, now spend three months in Las Vegas, three months in Guadalajara, and three more months in Las Vegas.

In developing approaches for training Mexican-American teachers, Orozco and his colleagues have discovered that often Chicano teachers are beset by their own feelings of inferiority, bred in during their own school experience. So a first step in the training process is to help them improve their own self-image, and then to analyze how it happens. With the personal insights that result, the teachers are then better equipped to deal with similar problems in their own pupils.

The atmosphere at Highlands, where Chicano consciousness is high and there are at hand numerous examples of Chicanos exercising power in positions of leadership and authority, has apparently produced crises of cultural identity, especially among Chicanos who have been partially (or thoroughly) assimilated into mainstream values and styles. For those who are more secure in their Chicano identities, the university offers a rather unique and stimulating institutional environment. Still, the traditional departmental structure of the university is seen by many of the new activists as a hindrance to constructive change. Orozco, for instance, would prefer to be able to organize a training and education program for Mexican-American students and teachers from scratch.

One of the recognized but unresolved problems at the university is the needs of Native American students, who make up 8 per cent of the student body. Accounting educationally for Indian culture is a particularly complex problem in light of such factors as rivalry and hostility between members of different tribes and the fact that there are thirteen different Indian languages in New Mexico alone. Mexican-American faculty members in the Education Department are sensitive to the problem but have been unable to do much about it. As one said, "As Chicanos we don't want to teach Native Americans any more than we wanted to have that done to us by Anglos. And it's tough to find Native American professors and money to support a program." Interestingly enough, Highlands is known among Indians as a university which graduates, relatively speaking, quite a high proportion of its Indian students, a record which has remained consistent over some years.

Community-Based Colleges

In response to the failure of mainstream institutions to fulfill the educational needs of subculture groups, and in recognition of the importance of minority self-determination, a growing number of community-based colleges are being set up across the country. These colleges, while they differ in a variety of ways, all share the characteristics of an orientation to a specific cultural group and of independence from control by the core culture.

In several important ways, the new community-based colleges owe their existence to the failure of the existing institutions. First, cultural minorities have been denied access to established institutions. In California, for example, Mexican-Americans make up 14 per cent of the public school population, but only 2 per cent of the California State College population and less than half of 1 per cent of students at the seven campuses of the University of California. And even though more are attending community colleges, transfer of credits from two-year to state colleges is made exceedingly difficult. In New Mexico, where Chicanos make up nearly half of the state's population, less than 8 per cent of them attend the state universities.[38] Second, minority students who have gained entrance suffer unusually high attrition rates. Of the small number of Chicanos in the California State College system, "less than half of 1 per cent goes on to graduate."[39] And of the top 10 per cent of Navajo high school graduates who received tribal scholarship money, 90 per cent did not complete their college studies.[40] Dropping out has usually been attributed to cultural alienation experienced by minority students at white institutions, and to the failure of these institutions to develop programs and facilities directed toward the needs of minority students. Those able to last until graduation often have done so at the cost of their own cultural values and habits, with the result that few then return to serve in their home

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[38]Philip D. Ortego, "Schools for Mexican-Americans: Between Two Cultures," in Edward Simmen (ed.), *Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today* (New York: Mentor, 1972), pp. 226, 229.

[39]*Ibid.*

[40]Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst, *To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972), p. 267.

communities. Even programs especially designed for minority students frequently have clearly—if not blatantly—assimilationist aims. The largest program for Native American students at any senior institution in the country is at Brigham Young University, which enrolls over 500 Indian students. In an article hailing "bold innovations" in higher education programs for Native Americans, BYU's program was approvingly described as follows:

> The Indian program focuses upon the development of the individual student to a level where he can successfully compete in all aspects of non-Indian society. Convinced that the academic and social backgrounds of most Indians substantially retard the normal achievement of this goal, the Indian program has been organized to provide compensatory assistance.[41]

The adverse conditions at Anglo institutions gave rise to efforts by subculture members to found their own colleges, independent of Anglo control and committed to serving their own people. As such, they provide an important example of community responsibility and control for groups who are in almost every other way dominated by the Anglo majority. They contribute to community development by meeting immediate needs for skills and services, by training skilled leaders and professionals from within the community, and by providing job opportunities at the college itself. And in some cases, they promote social change, either directly through actions such as political campaigning, community organizing, and the like, or indirectly, by deliberately producing students who will become social change agents.

Colleges may be categorized according to their relative orientation to three goals: scholarship, community service, and social change.[42] Most of the community based colleges justifiably claim commitment to all three, but where each one places its emphasis is vitally significant in distinguishing among them. Navajo Community College, for example, was originally intended to address the community service function; it was conceived as

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[41] Richard O. Clark, "Higher Education Programs for American Indians," *Journal of American Indian Education* (October, 1972), pp. 17-18.

[42] Milton Schwebel, "Pluralism and Diversity in American Higher Education," *The Annals* (November, 1972), p. 89.

primarily a vocational-technical school that would develop the skilled manpower needed on the reservation. Today, however, the majority of its students are enrolled in the transfer program, and priorities have clearly been reordered to concentrate on building a "sound academic institution" on its new 1200-acre multimillion dollar campus complex. D-Q University is dedicated to social change, but perhaps owing to its conception of its community as "at-large" (Chicanos and Native Americans wherever they may be), its physical isolation, and its decision to concentrate on large scale institutional development, this goal has been translated into one of producing scholars who eventually will become change agents in their home communities. This would seem to defer the social change commitment in favor of the more immediate and traditional goal of scholarship.

By contrast, the Lakota Higher Education Center defines its central purpose as immediate delivery to the local community of the skills, credentials, and technical assistance it so urgently requires. The Universidad de Aztlan uses its primarily community service oriented activity as a vehicle to promote broader political and social change. This is not to say that NCC and D-QU do not concern themselves with community service or that Lakota and Aztlan do not offer academic programs; it does illustrate how community-based colleges differ among themselves according to their respective role orientations/definitions—that is, where they place their emphasis in defining their institutional priorities.

The structure and organizational mode of a college are usually expressions of these institutional priorities. Perhaps the clearest distinction between possible alternate approaches is on Indian reservations, where community-based colleges are either the "institutional" or "dispersed learning center" model. The institutional approach is characterized by the establishment of college facilities on a centralized campus to which the students travel. It is a conventional mode which lends itself most readily to traditional academic study and the production of scholars and professionals. A majority of its students must be free to leave their local communities to become full time students. The dispersed learning center approach, on the other hand, decentralizes its operations, maintaining at most a small central administrative headquarters, and carrying out training and instruction in local communities using whatever facilities are available there. The college's own learning resources, such as its library, laboratory equipment, and other such materials are in mobile units. Course offerings are determined by the expressed needs

of local communities, and may include A.A. degree programs in skills like carpentry, plumbing, welding, nursing, business education, and the like. The approach is ideally suited to the training of teachers and teacher aides, who can be reached on the job. One college of this kind stresses a twofold priority in its mission as a college serving the community: to help Indian people upgrade themselves (1) by providing necessary skills, and (2) by offering credentials. Another dispersed learning center college stresses social problems more than skills and credentials, offering a degree in "human services" which includes study in mental health, social work, and so on.

Lionel Bordeaux of Sinte Gleska College, a dispersed learning center college on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, itemizes the following advantages of his college over traditional institutions: it is cheaper, more flexible and responsive, close to home, individualized, a model for Indian youth, it instills community pride, and it involves the community through governance and jobs.

In urban communities where people are more densely distributed, this distinction between models is not so clear cut. Distances are shorter, and centralized or decentralized facilities may be less salient an issue. Institutional priorities (not to mention budget) will still determine, however, whether a community-based college will seek to develop its own campus and buildings, or to maximize its use of what is already available. In East Palo Alto, Nairobi College maintains a central building for offices, a library and a few classrooms, but there is a conscious effort "to utilize the resources of the community by having classes in churches, homes, schools, offices, buildings, and the community library." Aside from the addition of science laboratories, there are no plans for physical expansion, although the academic program is expected to grow.

Conventional concepts of higher educational institutions, based on liberal values of freedom of academic inquiry and the fulfilling of individual ambitions have led to assumptions that colleges should be non-ideological, politically neutral institutions where all views may be equally accommodated. Indeed this conventional conception is voiced in the rhetoric of a number of the new community-based colleges. Others among them, however, have challenged the concept and criticized the fundamentally political role played by the traditional college, especially its role in maintaining the monopoly of mainstream values and culture (an effect no less political, they claim, for its being unstated).

These new colleges were formed with very explicit ideological commitments and goals in mind, and the shape and direction the college took was a direct outgrowth of these ideas. A number of colleges, however, although they profess a certain ideological or political orientation, have not translated it pragmatically or structurally in their college, with the result that there is confusion or even contradiction between theory and practice. There is disagreement, in any case, among those running the various colleges over whether or not a well-articulated ideological stance is a necessary component of a community-based college. One college considers its ideology (based on goals of nationhood and its conviction that all education is fundamentally political) to be an essential underpinning: the college is an attempt to operationalize this ideology. Another adopts a similar ideological stance, but organizes its program more according to a pragmatic perception of its community's immediate need for skilled members. Another is similarly pragmatic, but with no ideological pretensions at all, while a fourth adopts the traditional goal of "equipping each student to be successful at whatever he decides to do"–including how to make use of his knowledge, whether or not to assimilate, etc.

The community service trend in the newer community-based colleges has blurred many of the traditional concepts of the function of a college. At least one such college debated at length over whether to call itself a school or an agency. The problem was with the inveterately passive role of most colleges, which are usually regarded as a resource to be utilized by community members on their own initiative, and if they can qualify, and if the course offerings happen to be what they want. This particular college, the Universidad de Aztlan, wants to play a much more active role, providing programs that address expressed and identified needs of the community. This necessitates initiatives by the college in making contacts, diagnosing needs, soliciting suggestions, and recruiting students and trainees. One way it has formalized its activist role is to require all students to hold a part-time job in the community; in addition, each student undertakes a "project" which combines work and service in the community with a structured learning experience for credit–a kind of "dispersed students" approach.

Reaching out to the community, whether by dispersing courses and facilities or students, is one sense in which a college may be community based. Another direction is inclusion of community members in the operation and policy making of the college. One way to do this is by employing them

as staff. A number of colleges have recruited lay community people to teach classes in local language, culture, crafts and other skills. Even more important, perhaps, is the extent to which the client population takes part in determining college policy. The Board at the Lakota Higher Education Center is elected on a district basis during tribal elections. At Nairobi College, the board is balanced among staff, students and community representatives. Resistance to a community role in governance is a familiar phenomenon in conventionally-run colleges, but ironically there are radically-oriented community colleges whose strong ideological commitment also causes resistance to community access to decision-making based on a fear of dilution of that commitment. At the Universidad de Aztlan, community service is seen as one step in establishing the college as a power base for working political and social change in the community–a goal which requires ideological sophistication and discipline on the part of its leaders. It is considered essential that the leadership be carefully chosen and maintained with this in mind.

The case descriptions of community-based colleges which follow, along with the table on page 118f, illustrate the wide range of approaches in current practice. The difficulty in comparing them is compounded by a number of factors, for not only are different cultural groups involved, but the circumstances in each community differ as well–in geography, demography, economic status, educational level, political consciousness and myriad other ways. These differences, however, should not prevent us from abstracting from them certain salient principles and features which may serve to illuminate choices to be made under different circumstances. For the present, however, we shall look at individual models.

Navajo Community College

"For any community or society to grow and prosper, it must have its own means for educating its citizens. And it is essential that these educational systems be directed and controlled by the society they are intended to serve." This is the guiding principle of Navajo Community College, the first Indian organized and controlled institution of higher education on an Indian reservation.

NCC was founded in 1968 under charter by the Navajo Tribal Council. Until then, the Navajo reservation, which is roughly equal in size to West

Virginia, was the largest contiguous area in the continental United States without an institution of higher learning. Not that opportunities for college level study were totally lacking. In fact, due to the availability of scholarship money—from tribal funds, BIA scholarship grants, private foundations and other sources, Indian youth have had better access to post-secondary education than other low-income groups, including low-income whites.[43] But since the opportunities were limited to white institutions off the reservation, Indian students suffered high rates of alienation and attrition. Although more than $500,000 in Navajo tribal scholarship money was given to the top 10 per cent of high school graduates, 90 per cent did not complete their college studies.[44]

NCC is intended to give Navajo youth the opportunity to develop academic and vocational skills without being forced to adjust to Anglo values and habits. When it opened, it was sharing facilities with Many Farms High School, but this year it has moved to its own campus, a 1200-acre site in a wooded area near Tsaile Lake. Although it is not located near any sizable settlement town, the site was selected because it is in the heart of the reservation, and able to serve a larger percentage of Navajos within a one-hour driving radius (about 33 per cent of the population) than any other location. Construction is still under way on a complex of buildings projected to cost close to $20 million dollars by completion. At the hub of the campus will be the $2 million Navajo Culture Center, a building which is planned by the Tribal Council and the Board of Regents to "serve not only as an educational and research place for Navajo and Indian studies, . . . but also as the shrine attracting and uniting all Navajos. . . . The Navajos need and want such a shrine of their own which can serve to command respect and to help generate unity among all Navajos."[45] Other aspects of NCC's development into a great Navajo institution include a large library, a Curriculum Development Center, and the Navajo Press.

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[43] Fuchs and Havighurst, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

[45] From *The Navajo Culture Center at Navajo Community College* (brochure), p. 9.

Originally, NCC was designed to teach the vocational and technical skills most needed on the reservation where, due to both lack of training programs and discriminatory living practices, unemployment has remained at about 60 per cent. Training is now offered in auto mechanics and welding, nursing, secretarial science, drafting and design.

There is also a transfer program leading to an A.A. degree. Although initially this was expected to be a secondary part of the college, the academic program now enrolls a majority of the students. Course offerings are the usual ones for the first two years of college. The big difference is the Navajo and Indian Studies Program, which forms the core of the academic curriculum. All Navajo students must take a minimum of nine credits in the program, which offers more than two dozen courses in Navajo culture and history, tribal language and literature, traditional arts and crafts, and contemporary Indian affairs. A number of these are taught in the Navajo language, including a course in Navajo psychology.

Although the college is mainly concerned with its program for on-campus students, it is also involved with community service on the reservation. Its chief activity in this area has been to serve as sponsoring agency for a number of special programs such as the federally funded Career Opportunities Program (COP). The Navajo Adult Basic Education program (NABE) employs five Navajo instructors to teach oral English, writing, arithmetic, and electives such as health, stock raising, driver education, etc. in fourteen communities. The Community Agriculture Education program teaches farming and range and livestock techniques in local communities. There is also an on-campus pre-college training program which prepares students to take the GED exam.

Teacher training has been described at NCC as "the greatest single area of opportunity on this reservation." Although it is sometimes argued that there are not enough job opportunities on the reservation to absorb a large increase in trained graduates, that could not hold true for teaching jobs. Less than 3 per cent of the reservation teachers are Navajo. So far, NCC has become involved in teacher training only through COP; but a more extensive program is currently in the planning stage.

NCC's new campus can now accommodate 320 students housed in ten dormitories shaped like Navajo hogans, plus 180 commuter students. The

student body has maintained an average composition of about 80 per cent Navajo, 10 per cent non-Indian students, and 10 per cent Indians from other tribes.

More than one third of NCC's full-time faculty of 45 are Navajo, as are fifteen of eighteen instructors. Several of the instructors have been recruited from the community to teach skills they have acquired though they have little or no formal education. Faculty members are encouraged to relate their course content whenever possible to the needs of the community, and students are encouraged to solve actual problems. An example of this occurred in a drafting class when a student told his instructor of a local road which kept washing out. The instructor visited the site with his students, then helped them draw up plans for a bridge. The plans were submitted to the local council, and eventually the bridge was built.

The college is governed by a Board of Regents chartered by the Tribal Council. Ten Navajos serve on the Board, one from each of the five administrative districts, two elected at large, and three who serve by virtue of the positions they hold: the tribal chairman, the chairman of the Navajo Education Committee, and the student body president.

NCC has achieved recognized candidate status for accreditation with the North Central Association. In moving toward full accreditation, it hopes to offset the fears of some potential students that NCC's is not a "real" college program. The Navajo Studies Program, in particular, has been the subject of some doubts as to its transferability to four-year institutions, although graduates from the college have been accepted at institutions in Arizona and New Mexico. The success rate of graduates from the transfer program, in fact, has been more than satisfactory: 80 per cent are either college graduates or are still in colleges off the reservation.

Basic operating funds for the college are provided by the Navajo Community College Bill, passed by Congress in December, 1971, which pays tuition, room, board, and books for all Indian students who enroll at the college, on a per-student basis equivalent to the sum the BIA already spends in its own post-high school institutions. In addition, the bill authorized $5.5 million in construction funds.

With its large central campus and its liberal academic curriculum, NCC

epitomizes what we have called the "institutional" approach in community-based colleges. In most respects, it is modeled after the traditional mainstream institutions, with the major differences being (1) Navajo control, and (2) Navajo curriculum, the two criteria for community-based colleges. Its emphasis on the transfer program and the clear priority given to building a "sound academic institution" place it in the category which stresses scholarship and delivering a body of knowledge over community service or social change. NCC is concerned with producing graduates who will stay on the reservation and become tomorrow's Navajo leaders, professionals, and skilled workers. At the same time, its traditional model, which includes the implicit values of individual achievement and upward mobility, is directed to preparing its students for success in the world off the reservation. At present, the college seems unwilling to try to influence its students one way or the other. As one high NCC official put it, "we try to avoid the horns of the dilemma: we hope each student will become equipped here to decide where he wants to live, and can be happy here or outside." The big unanswered question is: How many will leave the reservation? It is too soon to know.

D-Q University[46]

D-Q University, "dedicated to the progress through education of Native American and Chicano people," opened in July, 1971, in a former Army communications center located on a square mile of open land eight miles from Davis, California. The land and buildings were turned over to a 32-member Board of Trustees, half of them Chicano and half Native American.

D-Q began with a campus and facilities before its program was fully developed, and much of it is still in the planning stage. The future tense is therefore indispensable to any description. Nevertheless the university has established its basic purpose and orientation, as well as its basic course offerings.

The purpose of D-Q is to develop scholars who will go into

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[46]For more information and other viewpoints see description and interviews relating to D-Q in *Chicano Alternative Education*, Nebraska Curriculum Development Center, Andrews Hall, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508.

the Native American and Chicano communities and begin to systematically bring about changes to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants of those communities in keeping with the cultural, social and political life of those communities. It is envisioned that these scholars will be social change agents in all aspects of their work within the community.[47]

D-Q's physical circumstances seem well-suited to fulfilling that purpose. The possession of a campus and facilities miles from the nearest town lends itself to an institutional approach which offers a resident student body the opportunity to develop its academic skills to the fullest. Its independence and its governance by Chicanos and Native Americans allow it to represent and promote the interests and values of these two groups as Anglo-dominated institutions cannot.

In keeping with its emphasis on producing scholars, D-Q bases its educational program on meeting the individual needs of its students as defined by them. Each student is encouraged "to assume the direction of his or her education, personally determining his or her own educational needs, and in general pursuing and following an educational path selected and designed by the person.[48]

The university will eventually comprise four colleges. Tiburcio Vasquez College, the only one operational so far, is now the College of Vocational and Professional Studies and will become the university's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. According to the 1973-74 catalog, it offers an A.A. degree in general studies with majors in Farm Management and Crop Production, Business, Graphic Arts, Mass Media and Liberal Arts. Majors in Native American Studies and Chicano Studies are offered in Heluaka Sapa College and Colegio Quetzalcoatl, which are the projected colleges for specialization in those areas. The fourth college, still in the feasibility study stage, will be Carlos Montezuma College, D-Q's health sciences, or medical school.

The A.A. program has received "candidate" status for accreditation

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[47] From the *D-Q University Catalog*, 1973-1974, p. 31.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

from the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, the final stage before full accreditation. As a member of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, however, it looks forward to development of the Consortium's own accrediting system.

D-Q's plans are so long-range and grandiose it is difficult to treat it at this point as anything but potential. A mid-October, 1973, visit to the campus revealed that classes for the handful of students on hand had not yet begun. There is a feeling there of busy planning for the future—writing proposals, developing curricula, discussing new ideas—especially by the staff, all but 10 per cent of which is Native Americans or Chicanos. They are spurred on no doubt by a vision of the university put together by an architectual firm which, under a $45,000 grant from the state of California, drew up development plans for a $35 million expansion over the next five years. The money would be provided under a bill being sponsored in Congress by Senators Cranston and Tunney. Nearly three-fourths of the money would go into on-campus construction; the rest would cover operating expenses while the student body increased from 165 to 1650 students.

Meanwhile, the catalog lists courses in Anishinabe (Native American) Studies, Business, Chicano Studies, Communications, Mathematics, Sciences, and Social Science. There are also listed what are called Survival Courses, which teach such skills as Developmental Reading, Technology of Study, GED preparation, English as a Second Language, and others, all designed to prepare students for college level work.

The catalog also claims a number of special activities and supportive services which, though many turn out to be not yet operational, provide at least a statement of intent. An experimental school, initiated "because there was not existing in the immediate vicinity a facility where D-Q University teachers could gain personal experience with the teaching methodology that they had acquired in the classroom" is one example. An on-campus Day Care Center "for which proposals are now being written" is another.

The question of community involvement in the usual sense becomes somewhat problematic when the campus is set in the middle of a plain, miles from the nearest settlement. D-Q considers itself to be "part of the community," and the community is defined as Chicanos and Native Americans wherever they may be. A plan to establish Community Education Centers—

either extension courses in local communities or courses designed and presented in the communities in the D-Q accreditation—was tried out in a migrant training program in California last year. There were major operational difficulties, brought on largely by the disproportionate size of the contract ($3,500,000) in relation to the university itself. But the concept is still felt to be viable. One application of the idea is to establish extension sites on Indian reservations—a variant of the dispersal model. Lending D-Q accreditation would be one way to support new colleges, to "get them off the ground until they can go independent."[49]

D-QU is involved in teacher training through EPDA Prospective Teacher Fellowships. Participants in this program are graduate students wishing to tie in teaching methods at the community college level with subjects in Chicano and Native American studies. These intern college instructors may be used to teach classes at D-Q. Some of these items are used at D-Q's program at Ramah High School, a community-run school on the Navajo Reservation. There, D-Q sponsors teacher training classes for D-Q credit. Under another federally-sponsored program, the university is developing a bilingual Mexican-American curriculum which will be tried out in another school using D-Q certification, la Escuela de la Raza Unida, in Blythe, California.

One reason why so much of D-QU's program is not yet under full sail relates to finances. Funding so far has been a problem; most has come from federal grants or programs which provide overhead. Recent cutbacks in federal aid have forced some retrenchment, including the necessity to reduce the student body by half, to fifty. Forty-five of these students get some kind of financial aid, for which they must be full-time students to qualify.

The governance structure at D-Q is a Board of Trustees consisting mainly of persons who were instrumental in acquiring the campus from the Army and setting up the school. A seven-member Executive Committee handles most routine business and recommends actions to the full Board for final approval. The Board itself is self-perpetuating: vacancies are filled by

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[49] D-Q, through Wilfred Wasson and Study Commission funding, has attempted to set up affiliates of Indian-controlled community colleges of the Northeast Coast tribes. The exact nature of the affiliation has yet to be worked out. However, a Board of Directors has been set up with tribal approval and funding is being sought.

vote of the remaining members. Two students sit on the Board of Trustees, and two on the Admissions Committee and on the Grievance Board.

Lakota Higher Education Center

Lakota Higher Education Center, founded in 1970 on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, epitomizes the community-based dispersed learning center college model. As an institution committed above all to service to the Indian population, it bases its organization in the community. Since the "community" in this case is dispersed over a 70 x 100 mile area it is up to the college, according to this concept, to be similarly dispersed. This has meant that rather than a central campus to which students must travel, LHEC maintains a minimum of physical facilities, using instead what is available in local communities. It does keep a small administrative headquarters in Pine Ridge, capital of the reservation. What learning facilities it does own is put on wheels. The science lab, for example, paid for by a National Science Foundation grant, is housed in a trailer from which chemistry and physics classes are offered--in a different community each semester. A $75,000 library grant from the Ford Foundation paid for books and a mobile unit to carry them in. The alternative "institutional approach," according to Lakota's Board Chairman, Gerald One Feather, is bound to be less flexible in that it usually offers a fixed set of courses to which students must adapt themselves. The dispersed center approach, on the other hand, can easily substitute one course or program for another, depending on the needs of a given community.

LCC conceives its central purpose as twofold: to help Indians upgrade themselves by giving them necessary skills, and to legitimize those skills by providing credentials. To these ends, it has structured A.A. degrees in carpentry, electrician skills, plumbing, welding, auto mechanics, and operation of heavy equipment. Over 150 students are enrolled in these "applied science" programs. Such programs have a dual purpose, training the local population and contributing to the development of the local community. On an *ad hoc* basis, other skills may be incorporated into the college program. For example, workers building houses on the reservation, in the college's view, ought to receive credit for what they do, so a structured course which deals with construction principles will be designed and offered. There is no formal procedure for recommending a course. Anyone can do it; if enough students are

interested, it's offered. An attempt is made, however, to maintain balance with established courses. Of 70 courses this semester, for instance, about half are in the Core Program.

At the heart of the academic program is Lakota Studies, with a current enroilment of 85 full-time students. The program is an attempt to structure an academic discipline to help people understand the culture, history and language of the Lakota Sioux. Although the A.A. degree in Lakota Studies is a 60-hour program, 83 points in courses are offered, with a number of courses conducted in the Lakota language. The program also uses older community members who are experts in their own history and culture as resource people to teach classes; some of them have not had formal schooling.

Other courses of study include a nursing program offering a RN certificate or a B.S. in Nursing. Enrollment has had to be limited to 20 students, and screening is carried out with preference to those with prior nursing experience. There is also an A.A. degree in social services, wtih majors in welfare and public health. Students learn about interviewing techniques, client/patient relationships, and the like. All of LCC's degree programs are accredited by the South Dakota Board of Regents and by the North Central Association.

Teacher training is carried out in several in-school satellite programs, in which teacher aides earn credits while working.

Like many of the new community-based colleges, Lakota Community College was established by a rather unique agreement: a compact between the Tribe and the State of South Dakota. The tribal government then created the college's Board of Directors, whose powers derive from the tribe. All seven board members are Indian: five are popularly elected on a district basis every three years during regular tribal elections, a sixth is appointed by the Tribe, and the seventh is the Tribal Chairman, who sits *ex officio*. State Board of Regents supervision is through Black Hills State College. All aspects of the college's operation are coordinated cooperatively by Black Hills State and the Board. Gerald One Feather, in fact, is both Board chairman and director of the Center for Indian Studies at Black Hills State.

The college operates with close to half a million dollars in funds. About two-thirds of this is federal–BIA and OE grants; the other third is

from private foundations. In addition, the BIA provides $25,000 per year in scholarship money. A few of the total 485 full and part-time students pay tuition, but many receive financial aid.

Future plans for the college, according to One Feather, are to "stay as we are" rather than expand. Why? "We only go as far as the people want us to go. At this point there are no demands for expansion. We want to be people-based to the maximum extent possible. Last year we provided a program of short-term classes for teaching animal vaccination to ranchers. These were faculty taught, offered to the community at no cost, as a service. That's what we are about."

Nairobi College[50]

Nairobi College is a private two-year community college serving East Palo Alto, California, a 95 per cent Black low-income residential community. Like a number of the other recently established community-based colleges, Nairobi College was formed by a group of Black students and faculty at a nearby white college who were disillusioned by what seemed like a futile struggle to force the college administration to recognize and meet their needs. Nairobi opened with 75 students in 1969, according to plans developed by a committee of fifteen students and fifteen community members. (It now has close to 200 students and a faculty of fourteen.) From the very outset it had very firm roots in the community.

The college was not the first grass roots educational institution to be set up in East Palo Alto. In 1966 a group of local mothers organized a private day school to offset the poor education at the local elementary school. By 1968, the Nairobi Schools, as they came to be called, included a pre-school, an elementary and a high school. With the advent of Nairobi College the system was continuous from nursery school through the first two years of college.

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[50]For more information and other viewpoints see description of Nairobi in *Education By, For, and About African Americans*, Nebraska Curriculum Development Center, Andrews Hall, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68508.

As an alternative system, the Nairobi Schools were founded "to salvage some of our youth until the quality of education in the public schools is acceptable." As a result of a combination of able leadership and learning success, the schools soon became a focal point for community organizing. Eventually the power base became strong enough for the Black community to run its own slate of candidates for board membership in the local Ravenswood City School District, which had always been white-dominated though 80 per cent of its pupils are Black. As of 1973, the entire five-member Ravenswood Board of Education slate was elected by the Black coalition which had created the Nairobi Schools. In addition, nine of the eleven principals and 50 per cent of the teachers are now Black; and the new Ravenswood superintendent was formerly a Nairobi principal. East Palo Alto thus can boast not one but two community-controlled school systems, one public and the other private.

This is the context into which Nairobi College fits. The creature of a well-organized community with energetic, imaginative leadership, the college views itself as an integral part of the community--serving it, participating in it, and being evaluated by it. Lest it become a separate, "walled" institution, it deliberately has no central campus, utilizing instead the resources of the community by holding classes in homes, churches, schools, recreation centers and social service agencies ("the community is the campus"). There is a central office building (a storefront) with space for administrative offices, a library and some classes. The college is governed by a nine-member Board of Directors, divided evenly among students, staff, and community members.

The only admission requirements are that a student be at least 18 years old, and that she or he "agree with the philosophy and objectives of the college." Entering students take a placement exam to determine their skill levels. If necessary they are assigned to the Reading Lab, a facility that has developed an original curriculum for adult non-readers. A two-year academic program is designed to prepare students for transfer to four-year institutions. It includes departments in Social Sciences, Business, Communications (including English, all levels, French and Swahili), Math and Science, and Fine Arts. The college has been granted candidate status for accreditation of an A.A. degree; the degree is not offered, but the standing allows transfer of credits to other institutions. The other type of academic program is basic skills building, designed to upgrade a student in whatever area and at whatever level he or she requires.

Community services offered through the college include a Work Study Program which places students in various community agencies, such as the neighborhood health center, local public schools, library, and juvenile probation, where they can receive college credit for their work; a Prison Program in which convicts (about 30 so far) are paroled to the college where they are helped to reenter the community; a child care center; and the organization of lectures, conferences, concerts, and cultural events for the local community. Specially funded programs operated through the college include Project Talent Search, through which NC has recruited and placed 600 minority students in colleges, and the Education Finance Reform Project, an extensive project aimed at developing a new model for financing education in California.

Nairobi College is slated to begin training of teacher assistants this year. This will be a two-year program with an academic component meeting requirements for an A.A. degree or for transfer, and an in-class training component. With its close ties to both the Nairobi and the Ravenswood schools, the college should be in an advantageous position to develop new teachers from the community and to facilitate performance-based teacher training.

Just as the Nairobi Schools were founded as a source of immediate educational benefit to local children, Nairobi College was formed because it seemed "the fastest available producer of the leaders and skills we need in the community." With that goal in mind, a great deal of emphasis is placed on fostering a commitment on the part of students to community development and to involvement in "the problem-solving process of the community." This is considered particularly important to ensure that students who transfer to a four-year institution will indeed return to serve as Black community leaders. Several students have gone on to medical and law schools outside the community. Several leaders of the program indicated that this approach is what distinguishes them from the more traditional Negro college in the South, where students were trained to function in the core culture with little or no emphasis on service to their own community.

The college staff includes four full-time counselors, as well as a peer tutor-counselor program in which selected rematriculation students assume "major responsibility" for instilling this commitment in their fellow students. In addition, all students must take Introductory Political Science, which is casually referred to as "our indoctrination course."

Universidad de Aztlan[51]

"Unlike present colleges and universities, which do not belong to Chicanos, are not accountable to them, and therefore do not serve them, the Universidad de Aztlan will use its resources in every way possible–beyond instruction and degree programs–to maximize its service to them and to the total community." As this excerpt from their statement of purpose indicates, the Universidad de Aztlan sees itself fulfilling a dual role as both educational institution and community service agency.

The Universidad had its beginnings in the Spring of 1970, when a group of professors from La Raza Studies at Fresno State College, students from several colleges in the area, and a number of interested citizens of Fresno, California, formed a planning committee to discuss the feasibility of a college for the Chicano community. One year later, the Universidad de Aztlan was founded as a "membership corporation," open to students, staff, and any other community member who shared its goals and was willing to contribute time and energy to it. The Governing Council, acting as a board of trustees, in fact, is one-third students, one-third staff, and one-third community-at-large. Classes began the following November, 1971.

The two-year degree program at the Universidad, which is located now in Del Rey, consists of three parts: General Studies, the Project, and Bilingual Communication skills. The General Studies curriculum includes courses in Alternatives in Education, Social Organization, Communication, Government, Community Health, Humanities, History, and Physical Science. Each subject area is treated with regard to its application to the Chicano community. Students learn not only the theoretical side of the subjects; they are also encouraged to discover how the ideas operate in day-to-day life through practica. Each student is required to work at least 20 hours a week in a job either in some community agency or at the Universidad. Placements are negotiated by the staff, and credits for work experience may be earned when it relates to the curriculum.

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[51] For more information and other viewpoints see description and interviews relating to Universidad de Aztlan in *Chicano Alternative Education*, Nebraska Curriculum Development Center, Andrews Hall, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68508.

The Project is defined as "research and work in community development planned and implemented by a student or group of students." In conjunction with a Community Development Seminar or a Project Planning Seminar, the student is responsible for identifying some community problem or issue, and planning his or her own learning experience related to it. "Thus, the student not only learns from his community, but serves as he learns." To complete the two-year program, all students must be able to speak and write correctly in both Spanish and English. During the first year they take at least two hours of each per week; additional training is scheduled the second year for those who need it. Those whose language skills are stronger than others are expected to help the staff teach the others.

In addition to the two-year program, which is called Collegio de la Tierra, the Universidad offers some upper division courses under its Collegio del Sol. These include more advanced general studies courses--"Human Service Institutes," which are classes dealing with social service agencies, educational counseling, and community development; and Cooperative Education, or work-related learning experiences.

More than any other institution visited for this study, the Universidad de Aztlan was notable for the intensity of its political orientation and ideological commitment. This is reflected in the hardships required of both staff, most of whom work 60 hours at roughly the equivalent of half salary, and students, who must share in all responsibilities. A lengthy discussion with both students and staff members yielded many insights into the nature and the consequences of their dedication. The programs and goals are best described in their own words:

"The philosophy, the ideology, is an essential underpinning for a place like this. We had to answer the question, why do you exist, what's the purpose? First, we tried to decide whether we were to be an agency of community service or a school. The line is blurry. By calling ourselves a school, it puts everyone in the context of being a learner. We say no one is elite, and educators are as much learners as anyone else. So we are a school which engages in service to the community.

"Of course, the strong agency tendency has its consequences on our identity as a school. For instance, it has meant that we aren't developing a strong research capability, which is also important to Chicanos. But it also gives us versatility: when we're fully developed, we should be equally

adaptable to running a school system or a city or community government.

"You can either define your purpose and then stick to it, or you can have grand and global ideas and be all over the place—and no place. We arrived at a position as a result of the process by which we created this institution. Without the foundation, the backing of a philosophy and an institution —that is, the actual *existence* of your base—what you do is like a firecracker: it goes off, makes noise, people notice; but its effects last only as long as the noise, the pieces get scattered in all directions. Our existence is no longer the question. The problem now is finding ways (and agreeing on them) to operationalize our ideology.

"We believe with Paulo Freire that education is not a neutral but a political institution. Our being here is a political fact. Now we must work to stabilize ourselves as an institution, establish an agreed upon direction for action. We're talking, long range, about nationhood. Our function basically is to move the community as a whole toward that goal. The first step is making contact through programs. *Service* is the organizing principle. the focal point, the way to catch people's attention. Our programs have possibilities for community education. We work in a local high school, running an upward bound program, for instance. The program relationship gives us inroads into the community. For example, the high school kids all have parents, and they can also be reached as secondary (ultimately primary) targets. Then you also make inroads through your graduates. If you can exist five years, you'll have upper division students and some graduates in the community, who will have strong ties to you, and will put you in a better position to serve and be supported by the community.

"Teacher training is a real problem area. Most of us come from disillusionment with schools, both upper and lower. We've concluded it's impossible to accept anything from the established universities. But if you have your own schools, whom do you hire? All the available teachers have been mistrained. Having your own schools without the ability to train your own teachers is meaningless. The first priority, really is to train teachers in a totally new setting. With that, though, you come to the problem we're faced with: if we train our students as teachers, who will accept them? Our graduates couldn't function in the regular schools. And, besides our students are *persona non grata* there. If they weren't, if they were acceptable to those schools, then we should close down here. As it is, we have both lower and upper division courses which deal with education and schooling as they relate to Universidad goals.

"For another thing, we face accreditation problems. Aztlan clearly

stands for resistance, we make no bones about that. There's a real conflict between our struggle against the system and our need to be credentialed by it in order to get a foothold in it. Besides that, it's difficult to gain the credibility we need as an institution to deal with the authorities in Sacramento, with other institutions, even in the community, without the accreditation."[52]

Although local community people questioned the purpose, ideology and structure of the university, it has over a short period gained the respect of several community leaders and a contingent of university people. Summer programs for high school students conducted by the college have been an important contribution to the Fresno community and have provided evidence of the serious purpose and accomplishment of the staff and students. Clearly, limited funding is a major obstacle and without supported federal programs the university could not continue.

Teacher Training at Rough Rock

The Rough Rock Demonstration School is a Navajo-controlled Head-start-through-high school community school system which recruits and trains its teachers locally. Under a rather unique arrangement, the director of the Multicultural Teacher Education Center there now holds a faculty appointment at the University of New Mexico while spending all his time on-site at Rough Rock.

Located in the heart of the Navajo reservation in northeast Arizona, the Rough Rock School serves a remote community of about one thousand persons widely scattered over a 115 square mile area. Its isolation is underscored by the fact that its population of sheepherders and traditional craftsmen is 95 per cent non-English speaking and 90 per cent non-formally educated; average annual income is $700.

The school was started in 1966 with funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity. It has also had some foundation funding. Operational control from the outset has been in the hands of an all-Navajo local school board with real authority over the program and

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[52] These remarks were made in the course of interviews with faculty and students.

policies of the school.

The learning program draws heavily on traditional Navajo culture and values in an effort to develop the strengths of the pupils and provide them with a strong sense of identity. Primary classes are taught in the Navajo language, and the study of Navajo history, culture and language which forms the core of the program is being systematically developed into a completely bicultural curriculum.

In addition to community governance and bicultural curriculum development, Rough Rock has extensive involvement of parents and other community people in all phases of its program. An example is the parent dormitory program which brings local people into the dormitories to live with the children. An open door policy actively encourages visits to the school by community members. There is a center for recording and producing Navajo cultural materials. And the school employs local people as custodial, clerical, and instructional staff, as well as providing some courses in adult education.

Rough Rock's experiment in local control has earned it no small amount of celebrity. It is widely credited with demonstrating:

> . . . the value of local control in involving Indians in the educational enterprise, largely through jobs; opening the school to greater visibility; and changing power relationships which give parents a greater influence as compared with the educators—This, it is expected, leading to more concerned and respectful treatment of the children.[53]

The hiring and retaining of non-Navajo teachers, who make up over 95 per cent of the teachers on the reservation, has meant having to cope with a number of recurring problems in Indian education.

The prime factor is cultural dissonance. Even though Anglo-American teachers of Indian children may be dedicated teachers with a genuine concern for their pupil's development, their lack of an intimate understanding of

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[53] Fuchs and Havighurst, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

Indian culture seems to be a permanent hindrance to their effectiveness. In their study of American Indian education, Fuchs and Havinghurst cite the following rather paradoxical statement as an accurate illustration of their own findings:

> We found few inferior teachers . . . the material quality of the schools and the general excellence of the staff–as evaluated within white educational standards–leave us with no villains, no clear-cut default, no run-down school plants. Yet, by some process, it appears that the better the school is by white standards, the more erosive becomes the educational experience.[54]

Added to this difficulty in relating to Indian children is the tendency of a large proportion of Anglo teachers to move from school to school, often after one or two years in one place; there is also a high incidence of Anglo teachers who simply quit their jobs. Reasons for these high rates of turnover in Indian schools by and large revolve around living conditions on the reservations and the general inability of these teachers to accustom themselves to the geographical (and for them, social) isolation of many Indian reservation communities.[55]

In staffing its school, Rough Rock naturally sought Navajo teachers first, but their scarcity necessitated the hiring of a substantial number of non-Navajos. In order to insure that its own objectives and priorities be understood, the board set up its own training facility at the school, the Multicultural Teacher Education Center (MCTEC). Once the program was established it then sought university affiliation. An agreement was eventually reached with the University of New Mexico by which the MCTEC director, Henry Schmitt, was appointed an associate professor permanently assigned to the field. Anita Pfeiffer, a Navajo who was former director of The Project, was hired by the university to develop other teacher training projects on the reservation. Ms. Pfeiffer was hoping to set up other satellite centers on the reservation.

One purpose of MCTEC is of course to provide Rough Rock's teachers

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[54] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

with in-service training. Perhaps more important is its role in recruiting and training teachers from the community. Sixty per cent of the pre-school and elementary teachers, in fact, were recruited locally, and of the twelve teachers in the elementary school, one third are former paraprofessionals trained at Rough Rock.

A major barrier to entrance by Indians into the teaching profession has been the requirement of a college degree for certification. Rough Rock's training center now offers all the necessary courses for the A.A. degree, though they have yet to be accredited. Certification through the available agencies, i.e., either the BIA or the state, however, poses problems; its requirements, as Schmitt says, are "unrealistic for us." As it happens, the tribal government's Division of Education, chaired by Dillon Platero, who is a former director of Rough Rock, is currently writing up a set of certification standards which it is hoped will become the official regulations for all Navajo schools. The new standards are being touted as an act of self-legitimation for Navajo education. Nevertheless it has seemed to some that formal standards may inhibit the kind of flexibility that is so desirable at this critical stage of development, and may have a chilling effect on innovation and experimentation.

The advantages of a community-based teacher training center such as the one at Rough Rock are many and obvious. Its having been developed at the school, which itself is governed locally, assures congruence with community-defined needs and interests. (Consider the alternative, when program priorities are decided at the university or college.) This was suggested as the basic problem by Ms. Pfeiffer in her own efforts at the university. Having a university-appointed faculty member assigned locally as director also enhances the likelihood that his or her loyalties will be with the community—although if the director's professional reward-structure is back with colleagues at the university that loyalty may be compromised. The ability to train teachers on the job of course provides the competency-based training that is everywhere so much sought after; course content is experimental and situational, based in the classroom itself. The training center is also in a position to cooperate with school personnel in the development and testing of new curriculum materials.

Opportunities for parent and community involvement are maximized. Teacher aides are recruited from the community and trained to be teachers,

thus providing jobs and skills to people who may be unable to leave the area to attend school. In addition, parents at Rough Rock may participate in policy making for the Center by joining the MCTEC Parent Advisory Board. Local residents are also employed as instructors or resource people for courses on Navajo culture.

Rough Rock is not without its problems, not the least of which is having to put up with a massive publicity which may be warranted by its viability as a model but which threatens to overwhelm a tiny remote community whose ambitions on its own terms may after all be only modest. In light of its apparent place of pride among Navajos, moreover, one may feel justified in wondering at the failure so far of Rough Rock to have been replicated elsewhere on the reservation. Similarly, an opportunity may have been passed up in the way of connections between MCTEC and other college-level programs on the reservation, such as Navajo Community College or the college at Ganado. There is some strong feeling that now that local school boards on the reservation are Indian controlled there will be increased movement in this direction, and that Rough Rock can serve as an important model.

Universidad Boricua[56]

Universidad Boricua is the first Puerto Rican degree-granting institution in the United States mainland. Its interdisciplinary, bilingual-bicultural program is intended to serve the Puerto Rican community by developing the intellectual skills of its students while sensitizing them to the realities of Puerto Rican culture, history, and community, and thus reinforcing their "Puerto Ricanness."

Of the at least 1.4 million[57] Puerto Ricans on the mainland, 60 per cent live in the New York metropolitan area, where they make up more than

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[56] The term *Boricua*, used interchangeably with Puerto Rican, is derived from Boriquen, the name given to the island by the *Taino* Indians who inhabited Puerto Rico before its discovery and conquest by the Spaniards.

[57] This figure, based on the 1970 census, is generally considered to be a substantial undercount, some say by as much as 15 to 20 per cent.

10 per cent of the population; the other 40 per cent mostly reside in New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, and in such cities as Newark, Boston and Chicago. By any measure, Puerto Ricans are among the very worst off of any subculture group. In the New York metropolitan area, for example, they have the highest rates of unemployment as well as the lowest rates of both high school and college enrollment, and the highest rates of attrition of all school-age populations. The dropout rate for high school alone has been estimated at 83 per cent; and despite the City University's open admissions policy, the small number of Puerto Ricans in college has not greatly increased.

It was to fill this "educational void" that Universidad Boricua was conceived at the Puerto Rican Research and Resources Center in Washington, D.C. With administrative staff and research offices located in Washington, the Universidad has opened its first Learning Center in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, New York City, where 60 students are now enrolled. The aim is to establish a number of centers in other areas where Puerto Rican populations are concentrated. In this sense, Universidad Boricua is an example of the dispersed learning center model. Unlike some of the Indian colleges of the model which disperse partly in order to become involved in direct community service (e.g., training to operate heavy equipment), however, Boricua is more strictly oriented to providing higher education at the community level.

A planning paper outlines the goals and objectives of this program:

Universidad Boricua must be an institution that will return to its students the sense of dignity, usefulness and empowerment of those who know who they are, where they came from and where they want to go. It is vital, then, that Universidad Boricua should define an educational philosophy and a clear set of objectives.

Philosophy

In planning Universidad Boricua, the opinions of youth who dropped out of high school, adults who desire to return to school, professionals, former prison inmates and gang members, and others have had a part in shaping the educational philosophy on which the Universidad Boricua concept is based and which could be summarized as follows:

--Education is an integral part of a man or woman's entire life. It does not start or finish at a particular age. It does not separate him or her as a "student" from the rest of the community.

--Education does not happen only in a classroom, building or campus of an educational institution. It is part of the whole living experience and as such should include work, pleasure and leisure time, home, neighborhood, etc.

--The teacher can and should learn from the student and the student from the teacher and as such Universidad Boricua faculty and administration will go through a development process where this concept will be understood and incorporated into their functioning.

--Language is an integral part of a people's entire vision and concept of themselves, their culture, their history, their worth. Universidad Boricua will provide Spanish language teaching to those who do not speak it but would like to. A Boricua institution must participate in the struggle for Puerto Ricans to find out who they are. Universidad Boricua will play an integrative and restoring role to the entire Puerto Rican community by providing the sanction, the knowledge, the appreciation and respect necessary for the Boricua culture to emerge and survive the debilitating effects of living in a hostile environment for Puerto Ricans in the United States.

--Puerto Ricans must learn to use technology to make the world a more livable place for the human being, not to destroy nature and enslave and exploit people, thus dehumanizing them. Puerto Ricans must learn to see in technology a tool to remove disease and the misery of poverty. Technology must also be made to afford time and leisure for the enjoyment and renewed respect for nature and other human beings.

Objectives

The greater objective of the institution is to arm a cadre of community-based men and women with the knowledge and skills that can transform them and the people around them from objects of a technological society into users of that technology so that we may break the cycle of poverty, deprivation and hopelessness in which so many of us find ourselves. This would be accompanied by an awareness of our past--who we were--, our present--who we are--, and how we can forge our future.

Specifically, the institution aims to:

--Provide higher education for about 2,000 Puerto Ricans in the United States by 1980. This pool of Puerto Ricans will represent the growth and enlargement of a group of professionals and technicians in the Puerto Rican community working in that community with a sense of purpose and dedication in advocating for the kind of change needed to change colonized people.

--Provide access for graduates to a greater number of professions and fields than is available to them now, and to develop and offer curricula in new occupational fields so that Puerto Rican young men and women will be prepared to enter them.

--Develop and offer curricula on bilingual-bicultural education for teachers and administrators. These should result in the creation of a pool of Puerto Rican educators with excellence in bilingual-bicultural education to give leadership and service to the bilingual-bicultural schools and programs of the country.

--Develop programs of outreach into Puerto Rican communities in the United States offering consultation and service through student and faculty internship programs in the Boricua community and its institutions.

--Develop a strong program of education and retraining for Puerto Rican adults--heads of households, migrant farm workers, prisoners, welfare recipients, housewives, etc.

--Establish strong programs of research, programs and products development and evaluation for the education of Puerto Rican drop-outs. These will be an integral component of Universidad Boricua's education to Puerto Rican students, whose educational preparation falls short of the requirements of traditional institutions of higher learning.

--Establish a clearinghouse of knowledge and information on Boricua art, culture, history and general knowledge about Puerto Ricans in the United States and in Puerto Rico with special attention to the migration experience. This Clearinghouse of Puerto Rican culture will service the overall community as well as the Puerto Rican community and can interpret and disseminate the Boricua philosophy, aspirations and views, its life and problems, through literature and othe artistic expressions.

--The institution which is being proposed in this plan does not aim to prepare Puerto Ricans to occupy high positions in the institutions of the overall society or become highly paid professionals. Universidad Boricua is

being planned as an educational institution to prepare Puerto Ricans, who will work in their own community, offering services and helping other Puerto Ricans realize the nature of their situation.[58]

A member of the Union of Experimental Colleges and Universities, the Universidad, designed as a four-year undergraduate program leading to a B.A. degree, has reached candidate status for accreditation with the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The "student-centered" curriculum is based on the concept that the student is the "prime mover, rather than the object, of education." Accordingly, each student designs his or her own program of studies by writing a learning contract comprising a list of the student's objectives, plus the learning experiences intended to accomplish them. The university is thus conceived as a "massive learning resource" at the service of the student. The five faculty members, who are called "facilitators," are expected to arrange and schedule their meetings with students according to the students' needs. Although "learning modules" have been developed in four areas of study—Mathematics, Communications, Objectives of Modern Thought (social sciences), and Problem Solving and Decision Making—the modules are considered prospective in that they will be modified in accordance with each student's learning program.

As an integral part of its surrounding community, the Universidad seeks to maximize its use of the community as a learning resource. Classes are held, as one administrator put it, "wherever students and facilitators decide to meet: somebody's house, a library, walking through the streets, or in the Learning Center. As much as possible, we try to use people's life experiences as content for the curriculum. Our objective is to help students improve their intellectual skills, but the content—the experiences you use to sharpen them—can be things they know, either what they know already or things they see day by day outside their window. We don't want to restrict learning to a classroom; we want to sensitize our students to the fact that they're learning all the time. So sometimes you go out in the street and you do a window survey, let's say, and you observe something and you take the data back to a room or apartment or library and sit down and talk about it. That's how people learn. We like to think we're open all the time; learning—school—is

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[58] From an unpublished planning paper.

going on all the time, 9 in the morning to 9 at night, Saturdays and Sundays included.

"Universidad Boricua is part of the community. So, often facilitators identify individuals in the community who have their own knowledge of how the community runs—not because they have a degree, but because they have lived there—and ask them to come in and share their knowledge. Such a person becomes in effect an adjunct faculty member. We've used community leaders that way, too. One, for example, who's been in the community for a long time—running a legal aid program—told how he faced some critical decisions in his role as a community leader."

One of the more imaginative applications of this concept, and one particularly reflective of the local community, has been the hiring as a part-time faculty member of Hugo Martinez, founder of United Graffiti Artists. As reported in the Universidad's February, 1974, newsletter,

> He brings to Universidad his talents as an organizer which he exhibited by channeling a group of young men's creative impulses to other artistic expressions. Last September, the group held a successful art exhibit at the Galeria Razor. Hugo Martinez is working with this group of graffiti artists within the Universidad Boricua framework.

Indeed, "Graffiti as Art" has been organized into a complete ten-module course, from designing and constructing the frame to exhibition of work. There are plans to develop a silk-screening module, and the course is expected soon to be integrated into the core curriculum.

The minimum requirements for admission as a student to the Universidad are 17 years of age and at 9th grade reading level. (Those who need it will be assisted in attaining a high school equivalency diploma.) The principal criteria, as determined by a pre-admission interview, are motivation and maturity. This is in keeping with the conception of the student as an independent designer and pursuer of his or her own educational program, of the Universidad as a resource to be used at the initiative of the students, and of the faculty as "facilitators" of each student's chosen program. Such an approach is also consistent with the university's aim of "minimizing the cost of undergraduate education." By using facilities available in the community—

such as the public library—rather than developing its own, by maximizing the use of facilitators, by relying on the initiative of its students, the Universidad hopes to keep its expenses within its means.

With only a limited amount of funds from foundations, corporations and federal agencies, those means are of course modest. Perhaps as constraining as the level of funds, however, is the fact that they are short-term. The resulting uncertainty, as Augustin Rivera, Vice Chancellor and Director of the Brooklyn Center, points out, greatly hampers both planning and meaningful evaluation. Rivera is convinced that Universidad Boricua offers many Puerto Rican students the best chance they have of receiving a college education relevant to their Puerto Rican identity, among other reasons, because "a smaller institution like ours can offer direct service to students, unlike the anonymous big-college atmosphere they find at the City University." Meanwhile, the central administration in Washington, D.C. are hoping that future increases in funding will lead to the setting up of Learning Centers in other areas. Prospective sites include Boston, Washington, Newark, Philadelphia, Chicago, and a second one in New York.

Experimental and Bilingual Institute

Located in New York City's predominantly Puerto Rican East Harlem, the Experimental and Bilingual Institute is a college feeder program offering remedial and college-level courses to adult high school graduates for whom "Language, poor academic preparation and guidance, as well as a lack of self confidence" would otherwise prevent success in college. In addition to providing these higher education opportunities, the Institute seeks to "motivate students to pursue professional careers in areas of critical need to their community's development and to instill in students a sense of social commitment and accountability to their community."[59]

The need for the Institute became apparent after the City University of New York (CUNY), which is tuition-free for city residents, instituted, in 1970, its policy of Open Admissions, under which all high school graduates

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[59] These and following quotes are from the Institute's *Prospectus* for 1973-74.

were assured admission to one of its twenty-one college units. In the first two years of Open Admissions, 66 per cent of minority freshmen dropped out, largely due to poor preparation of the students by the city high schools, and to inadequate planning by the CUNY system for the new influx of underprepared students. The Experimental and Bilingual Institute began operating in the Fall of 1971 with funding by the Federal Massive Economic Neighborhood Development program. In the Spring of 1973, cutbacks in the poverty program forced the Institute to become independent and secure its own funding. Fortunately, its success in placing its students with advanced standing at major units of the City University attracted major grants from the U.S. Office of Education and the Model Cities Administration, plus some smaller grants from private sources. As a result, its budget went from $60,000 under MEND to just under $400,000 for fiscal year 1973-74.

The Institute's academic program is in two tiers. The first, the remedial program, offers non-credit courses in English (including English as a Second Language) and Mathematics for intensive compensatory skills development. The second, the college level program, includes courses for "transfer credit" in English, Math, Spanish, and Natural and Social Sciences. In addition to the skills and knowledge acquired in the courses, the students benefit from support services such as social and vocational counseling, tutoring, and personal attention from faculty members. The entire experience is intended to give students a sense of the demands of higher education while bolstering their confidence and motivation to continue to achieve academically. A student who follows the Institute's program to the point of transfer to a unit of CUNY completes twelve credits of the college level probram; a B average is required to receive the Institute's endorsement.

A key feature of this "college feeder program" is what the Institute calls the "articulation" of its courses for transfer credit to the CUNY system. This means that, although the Institute is not itself accredited, it gains recognition by the CUNY units (so far, Bronx Community College, City College, Hostos Community College, and Hunter College) of each of its college level courses as the equivalent of courses offered at the respective colleges. Acceptance of these equivalences is then formalized in a written agreement which assures students that credits earned at the Institute will be honored when they transfer.

The entire program is thus based on very pragmatic, very instrumental

assessments of what is required for individual and, by extension, community advancement. The starting point, by this analysis (and in contrast to the independent, or even adversary, approach taken by some other alternative colleges), is gaining acceptance by established institutions. As Julio Vazquez, Deputy Director of the Institute puts it, "I'm tired of listening to people who cry that they can't relate to the system. Of course they can't; that's accepted. But so what? You can't stop there, because until you've gotten your own self together you have no way of challenging the system. You have to deal with the political reality. We have to as an institution, because if we don't, we're not being of service to our students–who need that college degree. So we have to sell ourselves to the universities, to show them our courses are as good as theirs, that our faculty members are as well prepared as theirs. We have to prove our acceptability and our credibility. We do this first by negotiating course equivalencies. We negotiate each course with each department of each college we affiliate with. Then, second, we meet with our Academic Advisory Committee once a month. The Advisory Committee is made up of representatives of the five affiliated colleges, all appointed by their college presidents. It helps us with long-range planning, but a major function is that it's a foot in the door of the colleges for us. That a college president will recognize us to that extent is a major step for us; it opens the door for us to present ourselves to the deans and explain our program. We tell them we can save them money and problems by taking these students off their hands–which makes them happy. And it means we can offer our students not just the credits, but also the benefits of the contacts we make. The students know they'll be forced to deal with that system, and to make it in it; and they also know we can intervene for them if need be."

The Institute has a little over 200 registered students, nearly all of them Spanish-dominant (59 per cent Puerto Rican, 32 per cent other Spanish speaking), and most in their late thirties. Asked why the students are older than usual college age (most have been out of school seven years or more), Vazquez explained, "We have older students because we go after them. Open Admissions isn't a real thing to them. They can't see themselves in the city colleges. They lack confidence; they're aware of their handicaps–like the language, their need for remediation. And the fact that they're older; they can't see themselves going to school with a bunch of kids who don't know why they're there. Open Admissions takes a whole population from us–high school graduates, people in their early twenties. But it's a revolving door for them. They go in unprepared; the college can't help them; so they leave.

We've found that the one who's been out in the world, who's had the life experiences–who's been working, who knows the value of a buck, the demands of a family–is generally the more motivated student. Our students have a wealth of experience and knowledge. In a traditional college, all that is lost; it isn't used. We want to recognize it, to develop it, to maximize its potential and bring it to reality."

Since the Institute has more applicants than it can handle, it has become selective in accepting students. The chief criterion, applied in the course of personal interviews, is motivation–another indication of the pragmatic bent of the Institute: "We want the students who will maximize our efficiency by minimizing our efforts, the ones most likely to succeed."

The Institute is governed by a fifteen-member Governing Council, charged with developing and implementing overall policies and programs. The Council is composed of eight students (four each from the day and evening programs), four from the faculty, and three from the administration; members are elected annually by their respective constituencies.

The remedial program and all support services are available to the community. In addition, the Institute sponsors seminars, workshops, conferences, cultural events, and other activities of interest to East Harlem residents. Staff and faculty, many of whom have expertise which may be of use to the community, have offered their services as consultants on a no-fee basis. One administrator, for example, wrote a proposal for a Senior Citizens Center for the East Harlem Tenants Association. Asked whether that was an Institute function, he replied, "It's difficult to distinguish between what's Institute and what's an outside function as such. We're just being what a college *should* be to its community–an available resource."

In the future, the Institute hopes to extend its college feeder capabilities–by affiliating with more CUNY units, by reaching more communities with Spanish-dominant populations, and by expanding course offerings and student services. An allied goal is to develop curriculum materials and approaches that are effective in teaching Spanish-dominant students, and to have these adopted by the CUNY system. The Institute also hopes to add to its developing bilingual library, and to acquire its own permanent facility. All these objectives relate to the Institute's ultimate goal of becoming an accredited institution in its own right, with the capability eventually of granting

its own degrees. The plans for expansion are not without a limit on size, however. Although there are differing opinions as to where the line should be drawn (between 300 and 500 students), there is apparently no disagreement over whether it should be drawn. Anything larger, it is felt, would "compromise the goals for our type of school, which is based on intimate contact with students. Secondly, we don't want to be dependent on the federal or state governments for our existence. Not that we don't want the aid; but should we lose it, we want our support to be within the means of the community."

Malcolm-King: Harlem College Extension

Malcolm-King: Harlem College Extension is a tuition-free two-year college which offers college credits and A.A. degrees through a special arrangement with three "sponsoring" accredited institutions. The all-volunteer faculty serves a student body of 750. The purpose of the college is to provide higher education opportunities to the Harlem community with the aim of developing trained leaders for and from the local population.

Among the community-based colleges studied for this report, Malcolm-King is unique in several respects, some of them having to do with the nature of Harlem as a community. Unlike many Black enclaves within Northern urban areas, Harlem is not inhabited predominantly by first-generation migrants from the South. Rather it is a stable community of long-time residents, laced together by a multiplicity of local agencies and institutions. Moreover, although its long history of local organization has been matched by an equally long history of official and corporate neglect that has kept the community poor, Harlem today shows signs of being on the verge of an economic renaissance, due largely to a growing political sophistication and assertiveness forged during the late 1960's. Malcolm-King, in fact, was a product of those turbulent years.

In 1968, community attention was focused on the local school district of Intermediate School 201 which, in response to local demands, had been allowed to become an experiment in community control of schools. In this atmosphere of heightened political and educational awareness, it was pointed out that the entire Harlem area contained "no senior or community colleges, no technical or vocational institutions of higher learning, and no

public education of any kind beyond the eighth grade level."[60] To rectify this situation, a group representing the I.S. 201 Governing Board, a community Head Start Program, and local parochial schools arranged with Marymount Manhattan College, which had previously been involved in tutoring and remedial programs in Harlem, to offer a pilot course in a local brownstone. The following semester (Fall, 1968, the time of the New York teachers' strike), the course was expanded into an adult evening program of courses for college credit, and the Malcolm-King: Harlem College Extension was off the ground.

From the very outset, Malcolm-King has benefited from Harlem's status as a well-organized community, as well as from its fortuitous timing in being first on the scene. The community's eagerness to utilize and support an indigenous college installation afforded Malcolm-King a legitimacy which its identification with Catholic institutions might under different circumstances have denied. Its interdependence with the community, however, is undeniable. All classroom space is donated by local groups—the community school board, a neighborhood church, the Urban Center of Manhattan, the administrative offices, Study Skills Center, and counseling offices take up two floors of an office building on 125th Street—which is also donated space.

Perhaps most indicative of the acute need within Harlem for college services is Malcolm-King's special programs. These came about when various community groups approached the College Extension to request establishment of college-level training programs relating to their areas of concern. Some examples of groups which now cooperate with Malcolm-King in this manner include the Central Harlem Association of Montessori Parents, under whose program students receive a year's college credits plus a certificate qualifying them to teach in Montessori schools; the Community Leadership Program for ministers in Harlem; Harlem Hospital and the Skills Advancement Institute, which together with Malcolm-King sponsor the Harlem Rehabilitation and Training Program which trains professionals in the drug abuse field; the Harlem Parents Union, which sponsors the Critical Issues in Education Program to train parents in the issues and methods of contemporary education; and several groups which help prison inmates and ex-offenders. These groups are

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[60]From a Malcolm-King brochure.

considered a vital resource in maintaining close ties to the community.

Malcolm-King differs from some community-based colleges in that it began with close ties to established institutions. This meant not only that all its courses were accredited from the beginning, but also that it started out with a rather traditional liberal arts curriculum. (Many of the new alternative colleges, by contrast, design their programs deliberately with little regard for traditional curricula, and only later, perhaps, seek accreditation.) Three Catholic institutions of higher learning now underwrite Malcolm-King academically, The College of Mount Saint Vincent and Fordham University having joined Marymount Manhattan to form a sponsoring consortium. Each course is offered for credit by one of the three colleges, and credits earned at Malcolm-King are automatically transferrable to any of them. Malcolm-King offers its students A.A. or A.A.S. degrees in liberal arts (either English or History and Social Science), elementary education, early childhood education, and business. These degrees are granted either by Mount Saint Vincent or Marymount Manhattan, depending on subject area. Course offerings are determined, first, by the requirements of the core (liberal arts) curriculum, and second, by the qualifications of the volunteers. Core courses must be taught each semester; if an instructor is lacking for one, the college will advertise on local radio, usually with good results. Other than the basic classes, the curriculum reflects the interests and competencies of the volunteers. Thus, there is a plentitude of social science and Black-oriented courses, such as Economics of Black Community Development, the sociology of the Black Church in America, African History, etc. The ability of the College Extension to maintain a faculty of volunteers to teach its 106 courses, despite a turnover of 25 per cent per semester, is further testimony to its ability to attract community support. Virtually 100 per cent white in the beginning, the faculty is now approximately two-thirds Black. Indeed, there are enough volunteers to permit selective hiring: nearly all faculty have Masters or doctoral degrees (one volunteer recently resigned when he became President of Fordham University).

On the subject of control: How much policy is dictated by the sponsoring colleges and how much is left for independent decision? Policy making authority at Malcolm-King is vested in an Executive Committee. This body is made up of college presidents, representatives of the sponsoring colleges, Malcolm-King administrators, students, and community members. At the administrative level, at least, according to the Academic Coordinator, Kenneth

Cottrell, there is very little prior control: "Each semester we take care of the hiring of new volunteers, setting up new courses, putting the program together. When that's all done, we send it over to them--really after the fact. They do review transcripts. And of course the curricula for the degrees were submitted for approval." In addition, one of the colleges requires special permission for any instructor of a course it credits who has only a Bachelors degree; the college is evidently concerned about its own standing. Nevertheless, there are a couple of instructors (in drama and art) who do not have Bachelors degrees. Overall, the relationship with regard to policy control is described as one of "trust."

There is no financial relationship between the sponsoring colleges and Malcolm-King--no transfer of funds.[61] The College Extension is responsible for its own funding, which comes from a variety of sources. The three largest funding agents are, in order, the New York State Higher Education Opportunity Program, the Special Services Division of the U.S. Office of Education, and the Campaign for Human Development (a private foundation of Catholic bishops). The zero budget for both faculty and building space enables Malcolm-King to accommodate 750 students tuition-free on a budget of less than half a million dollars.

Like many alternative colleges offering opportunities to cultural subgroup populations, Malcolm-King sees its advantages over traditional institutions to be that it enables students to pursue a college education close to the students' way of life, which "creates a self-confidence and assuredness that permits them to achieve without having to cope with the alienation of an unfamiliar and distant campus"; it relieves the burden of high tuition costs (although the City University is also free for residents); and it enables them to maintain current work responsibilities while obtaining a college education.

Both the degree programs and the special programs--the former designed as a transfer program to a four-year institution, the latter intended to improve job opportunities by providing college credits for training in career positions--

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[61] The one exception is the salary of the Administrative Director, Dr. Mattie Cook.

indicate a very pragmatic assessment of the knowledge, skills, and credentials needed to assume a position in the job or career structure. This approach evidently makes sense to students who have come to appreciate the link between college training and economic advancement, an appreciation which may be more widespread in a community like Harlem, where prospects for finding an outlet for new knowledge and skills may seem more promising than elsewhere. Nonetheless, for those seeking true alternatives–in both the educational and political-institutional senses–Malcolm-King's commitment to the pursuit of "conventional standards of excellence" (as one of its brochures puts it), its traditional curriculum, and its status (despite, for the time being at least, its goal of eventual independence) as an "extension" of institutions based outside the community–and white, Catholic institutions at that–may serve to disqualify it.

Problems Facing Community-Based Colleges

Although the new community-based colleges may differ from one another as to the subculture group involved, the particular model adopted, and other ways, there appear to be patterns of problems that they all share in some degree. Most obvious, perhaps, are the lack of funds and the inability to gain and maintain status through traditional accreditation procedures. Difficulties securing status, exacerbated by opposition from established universities, often hamper the colleges' efforts to recruit and win support from their target communities. These problems are discussed in this section.

Funding

Their status as new and independent institutions has denied most community-based colleges a secure source of funds. They are generally not part of any state system, so there is no automatic claim to public funding. In the case of Navajo Community College, the Navajo Reservation extends into portions of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah, but these states consider the college to be a federal responsibility, and thus provide no state funds. The newness of these colleges, moreover, obviates the question of alumni support; and none benefit from private endowments. As a result, the best many can hope for is limited-term grants from the federal government or private foundations, plus income from specially-funded programs which provide the colleges

with overhead. Their problem is similar to that faced by alternate independent schools which were created in the 1960's. Such hand-to-mouth existence is hardly conducive to establishing self-confidence and independence.

The largest single source of funds has been the federal government. The United States Office of Education provides grants for Developing Institutions under Title III of the Higher Education Act (1965); it also sponsors special programs such as Career Opportunities Program, Right to Read; Upward Bound, and EPDA (Educational Professions Development Act) programs, and gives financial aid to students through Educational Opportunity Grants, College Work Study, National Defense Student Loans, etc. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has been a source of money for colleges serving Native Americans through scholarships, loans to students and operating grants. There are also specific individual projects related to particular populations, such as NCC's Navajo-Adult Basic Education Program. The potential of special projects to provide overhead which may be used to support ancillary operations has tested the inventiveness of the leadership at some colleges. D-Q University, for instance, is making use of its Desegregation Training Institute, funded under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to develop its projected education department. There is also the possibility of federal funding through special legislation. NCC gets about 65 per cent of its operating costs, as well as large amounts for construction, from the Navajo Community College Bill, passed by Congress in late 1971. And D-QU has a similarly large-scale funding bill currently pending in Washington.

The other chief source of funds is foundation grants and private contributions. These monies finance a variety of services and facilities, including Lakota Higher Education Center's Ford-sponsored mobile library, Nairobi College's Research Institute, and NCC's Moses-Donner Collection of Indian Materials.

The position these colleges find themselves in as a result of these funding patterns has both its advantages and its drawbacks. On the one hand, the colleges place a high value on their independence and self-determination, qualities that would likely be seriously comprised under traditional funding. On the other hand, the condition of short-term, often piecemeal funding of a college's program not only causes distracting demands on time and energy to scrounge for new resources, it also creates an atmosphere of uncertainty about even the near future which can adversely affect morale, the ability to

recruit new students and faculty, and the ability to attract other funding. A number of the community-based colleges have received additional reminders of the precariousness of their existence through recent cutbacks in federal grants. In the case of D-QU, for example, the cuts, including Developing Institution funds, amounted to 50 per cent of total funds available from the Federal Government, which meant, among other things, that the student body was abruptly reduced by half.

Dependency on outside funding poses another problem, potentially more insidious than the effects of uncertainty: it is the danger of being influenced by the policy values of the funding agency. Federal funds often come in the form of federal programs, which are inevitably reflections of priorities determined elsewhere than the local communities of the colleges that serve them. Attempts are naturally made by the colleges to adapt the programs to their own situations—often quite ingeniously—but the programs are still essentially imports, guidelines are in force, and termination is always a potential consequence of noncompliance. A more general threat to the colleges' integrity lies in the knowledge that to the extent a new college reflects the more traditional concepts of higher educational institutions, the chances of attracting the funds controlled by mainstream agencies—public or private—are increased. It hardly seems coincidental that among the new institutions visited for this study, the two which have achieved the most lavish financial backing—Navajo Community College and D-Q University[62]—are also the two which most aspire to academic status in the traditional sense, and which have structured their programs accordingly.

Private foundations, which are a major source of support, are well known for the practice of developing their own policy commitments, then letting it be known that they are prepared to fund local institutions which will adopt them. Only in rare instances is a college successful in obtaining a blank check. Nairobi College, for example, was fortunate to have received a grant from the Olerton Farms Trust Fund which provides a three-year operating budget. Less fortunate community-based colleges are often faced with the dilemma of whether or not to seek or accept broader funding whose

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[62]Providing, in D-Q's case, that the $35 million being backed in both houses of Congress passes.

attached strings may alter or modify their original commitments. More money is a great temptation, but some willingly pass it up for the sake of their own integrity. The Lakota Higher Education Center has adapted itself structurally to its relatively modest budget. Or perhaps it is the other way around: it has acquired a budget in keeping with its program orientation. (There is often a chicken or egg relationship between funding and program: which has greater influence over which?) At La Universidad de Aztlan, the choice is clear. Visitors are told point blank: "Whatever you do, don't fund us; that's the last thing we want."

Some of these problems associated with funding may be alleviated through the various consortia now getting under way. Both the Consortium of Chicano Colleges and the American Indian Higher Education Consortium have plans to develop financial resources for their participating community-based colleges. And in its literature, Nairobi College mentions plans to create a National Federation of Independent Black Institutions which would serve as a permanent funding vehicle. A major purpose of the consortia will be to resolve competition for funds among community-based colleges. But they may at the same time create new problems related to priorities and the need to support the central administrations of the consortia. Both groups now extant are struggling to find appropriate means to deal with these factors.

Credentials and Accreditation

The traditional accreditation procedures of the higher education professional associations are less than sympathetic to the programs in many of the new community-based colleges. Since officers and staffs on the accrediting teams represent the established institutions (if, indeed, they are not themselves top administrators in those institutions), it is not likely that they will value breaks with the accepted practices and approaches. Standards set by these associations are more favorable to long-standing institutions, and do not encourage, to say the least, deviations from norms. These conditions may explain why so many community-based colleges seek out affiliation with older institutions.

Since many of the new community-based colleges were set up by minority people who had left white institutions, either because they were dissatisfied with the inability or the unwillingness of the institutions to meet

their needs or because they were caught up in purges of ethnic studies or similar departments, it is not surprising that these traditional institutions would be somewhat less than sympathetic toward the colleges set up as alternatives. Although the community-based colleges attempt to be independent of the old-line institutions, they nevertheless impinge on each other in a number of ways.

Since most of these new colleges have basically two-year programs, they must provide students with an opportunity to transfer their credits to four-year institutions, which puts the latter in a position indirectly to approve or disapprove the colleges' programs. Furthermore, some new college-level programs, such as Rough Rock's teacher training center, require formal connection with a university in order to be legitimized for credentialing. When community-based colleges are forced to turn to traditional institutions for recognition or support, they are liable to be met with unacceptable terms or outright opposition. After Rough Rock had developed its teacher training program on its own, its leaders went to half a dozen different universities seeking affiliation. Most of these institutions were unwilling to work with the demonstration project in a field-based teacher training effort. It finally reached an acceptable agreement with the University of New Mexico. "You have to be very careful in picking a university to tie into," according to Henry Schmitt, director of Rough Rock's Multi-Cultural Teacher Education Center. "A university's main interest in acquiring a program like ours is the funds it brings in. So they take on a program without having any real commitment to it, then they put some old faculty member with no commitment to change in charge of it, and you're sunk."

The other motivation a university might have for accepting an outside program, besides money, is the public relations one. It was quite necessary in the late 1960's to a university's public image, especially if it was located in an area of large minority population, to adorn itself with special programs for these minorities, along with new faculty members to match. These programs typically were in the area of bilingual and bicultural education, and emphasized research on minority learning styles, the development of instructional techniques or modules, the designing of special curriculum materials, and other such approaches which constitute no real threat to established structures and operations. Public relations undertakings are seldom risk-taking ventures, and thus any outside program taken on to enhance a university image can count on enormous pressure to conform to the university's "safe"

way of doing things. More recently, competition for students might be an added consideration, and universities might be inclined to add to their own enrollments.

Community-based colleges also face opposition in the form of attacks on their curricula, especially their ethnic studies programs, which are frequently at the heart of the curriculum. The usual theme of these criticisms is that the programs are academically substandard or that courses deal in subject matter with unaccepted scholastic merit. Closer to the real reason for the objections may be that the alternative colleges are perceived as based on values antithetical to the university—most notably the commitment to serving clientele rather than professional interests—and that they thus pose a threat to traditional university stated goals and power arrangements. At institutions where Ph.D's are the standard for judging the caliber of faculty, for instance, such practices as the use as teachers of community members who lack formal education—such as the elderly Sioux, some of whom never went to school, but who "know their history and culture" and teach it at the Lakota Higher Education Center, or the medicine man who teaches Navajo culture to teacher trainees at Rough Rock—must seem the sheerest heresy.

The alternative colleges also compete with university departments for external funds, providing an additional motive for denigrating the legitimacy and capabilities of the "upstarts." As Lionel Bordeaux of Sinte Gleska College on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation put it, "We're seen by Anglo universities and colleges as a threat, especially to their funds. They remember just a few years back when we started with just a borrowed desk from OE; today, over a million dollars passes through our accounting office."

Recruitment and Community Support

Independent, community-based colleges also face legitimacy problems within their own communities, a situation which sometimes makes it difficult to recruit students and faculty and to enlist community support. The novelty of their programs arouses doubt that they are really "college" studies. Students fear their credits will not be transferable to other institutions, or that the training they receive will not qualify them for jobs and positions in mainstream society. Potential faculty suspect that the colleges may be merely a fad with no future for them. In short, the colleges' lack of status in relation

to mainstream institutions may be a deterrent to those who wish to upgrade their own educational or professional status.

Another kind of recruitment problem may result when a college by the nature of its commitment requires unusual sacrifices on the part of students and faculty. This is the case at La Universidad de Aztlan, where faculty are paid subsistence wages at best and students must put in twenty hours of work in service to the community at the same time they are studying full time. This level of discipline is obviously not for everyone.

Skepticism as to the seriousness or the viability of a grass roots college may also extend into the community. This may be a function of insufficient information, as in the case of Navajo Community College, which was considered at some of the reservation's high schools to be a place where all that went on was arts and crafts. It may also stem from an image of its leaders as radicals or militants. In most cases, however, it seems to reflect a long-standing popular assumption that material or educational success on any appreciable level requires adaptation to mainstream institutions, and that indigenous colleges simply cannot be a viable or realistic substitute for them.

Summary

Cultural Pluralism and Education in the United States

There has always been a discrepancy in the United States between the myth of the melting pot and the reality of diverse, unassimilated cultural subgroups not accommodated by mainstream American society. The inability of American society either to tolerate cultural diversity or to suppress it is indicated once again by the reemergency in recent years of the concept of cultural pluralism, particularly in education and teacher training. The chief response to current demands for cultural pluralism has been the development of bilingual-bicultural programs. Whether in schools or in teacher training programs, the overwhelming emphasis has been on the *process* of education, with the aim of influencing attitudes and behavior, rather than on changing institutional *structures*. The unexamined assumptions underlying these programs include the following:

(1) Intolerance of cultural differences is a product of people's ignor-

ance, and can best be corrected by exposure to information and training.

(2) Members of subculture groups do not fully participate in American society because they lack bicultural skills and self-image; or, conversely, programs which enhance the bicultural skills and identity of subgroup members will enable them "to become participating citizens of a culturally pluralistic society."

(3) Cultural pluralism as a description of society at large may be achieved without major changes in institutions.

Against these assumptions, one could, however, counterpose the following:

(1) Intolerance is a product of prejudice caused by people's response to reality, that reality being that cultural subgroups lack the power and status which are the determinants of respect in American society.

(2) Members of subculture groups do not fully participate in American society because the arenas of participation—mainstream institutions—do not represent or function in their interests. At issue is not *that* subculture populations lack the skills, but *why* they do: because they lack institutions committed to providing them. Solutions that concentrate on changing subculture individuals are "blaming the victims" rather than the root (institutional) causes of their plight.

(3) Cultural pluralism, as descriptive both of majority attitudes and of subcultural integrity and viability, will come about because of changes in institutions—specifically, independent, minority-controlled institutions.

The differences in the thrust of these assumptions suggests some of the basic differences in the orientation and structure of programs relating to the issue of cultural pluralism.

Student Clienteles and Institutional Responses

Education institutions face three clientele groups seeking diverse ends through the single available channel: (1) those who have accepted and have been accepted by mainstream culture and its institutions; (2) those who are not yet assimilated but who seek assimilation through the available higher education and credentialing processes; (3) those who are unassimilated, who seek mobility outside the mainstream culture on terms which do not compromise their own cultural identity. It is the disposition of this third group on which our ultimate success in realizing cultural pluralism will turn. Mainstream colleges and universities, traditionally oriented exclusively to the first group, responded during the late 1960's–to pressures–mostly from the second group–to expand opportunities and programs for minorities by stepping up recruitment of minority students and faculty members, and by setting up ethnic studies programs–a response which has shown signs of reversing direction as pressures have diminished.[63] Another form of response has been expansion of two-year colleges and vocational post-secondary programs, many of them located in minority neighborhoods, and many of them having expended greater efforts than the universities to recruit more faculty of the same subculture group(s) as the students from the area.

In teacher training institutions, developments have been similar to those at white universities, subject, however, to constraints and limitations imposed by the credentialing requirements of state departments of education, as well as the certification and accreditation standards of professional associations. The main efforts in teacher training institutions have been directed at increasing the respect of majority (group 1) students for cultural subgroups, through ethnic studies courses, field-based training and inservice retraining in subculture customs and characteristics. But such efforts are still quite limited in

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[63] "Cultural pluralism, despite its recent renaissance, is not a major factor in the pressures for diversity in the central character of our colleges, although the schools are seen as vital to its realization. Afro-American or Italo-American studies can be added with hardly a ripple. Little is really changed, for the institution can still maintain its splendid isolation, involved in research that studiously avoids disturbing the social equilibrium." Milton Schwebel, "Pluralism and Diversity in Higher Education," *The Annals* (November, 1972), p. 97.

number. Teacher training programs for semi-assimilated (group 2) students are more problematic, as subculture students in the process of assimilation are suddenly confronted with conflicting signals as to their cultural identity. Ironically, this problem is less acute at institutions which have adjusted less to subculture demands. Teacher training institutions generally have yet to make significant progress in training larger numbers of professionals from subculture groups by upgrading paraprofessionals and teacher assistants.

Group 3 students get some attention in geographic ethnic colleges, but Anglo institutions still do not relate significantly to them. As a result of this failure by Anglo institutions, alternative colleges have cropped up to accommodate these group 3 students. Proponents of these alternative colleges see the establishment of status and independence for subculture groups through their own institutions as the only realistic way to bring about cultural pluralism.

University-Based Teacher Training and Cultural Pluralism

Adjustments in the form of special programs or institutes in traditional teacher training institutions have been precipitated by student and community pressures and by outside funding. The programs either train or retrain teachers or design new curriculum models. Nearly all are based on bilingual-bicultural approaches. Administratively, these new programs are often separate entities, isolated from the rest of the university, sometimes even from the ethnic studies departments.

The uncertainty and controversy surrounding the question of which cultural values will be taught to subculture group children, and how, and by whose choice, points up the necessity of enabling subculture populations themselves to define their own questions and answers in these areas. As matters now stand, decisions are made for them, *de facto*, either as a "normal" product of the school system, or now, more consciously, by university-based specialists.

A number of examples of special programs or institutes which are representative of current efforts at traditional universities in the area of cultural pluralism in teacher training are elaborated on in the section beginning on page 48. With the possible exception of Highlands University, all share a

number of features in common, most notably compatibility with the prevailing institutional structures of both the universities and the schools, and an orientation to the process of education, i.e. a reliance on influencing the attitudes and behavior of teachers and/or children in the classroom as the way to achieve cultural pluralism.

Community-Based Colleges

Community-based colleges, characterized by their orientation to specific subculture populations and by their independence from core culture control, have developed as a response to the failure of traditional institutions to meet the needs of their respective subculture groups, and in recognition of the importance of minority self-determination. In some ways, they are similar to earlier alternative institutions set up to meet the specialized needs of subgroups not accommodated by mainstream institutions, notably religious, land grant and Negro colleges. Among the important functions served by the new community-based colleges are: (a) providing an important model of community responsibility and control; (b) contributing to community development by providing skills and services, credentialing, leadership training, and job opportunities; and (c) promoting social change. Community-based colleges may be distinguished from one another according to where they place their emphasis in the areas of scholarship, community service, and social change. Another important distinction may be drawn between colleges that favor a centralized, "institutional" approach and those that have adopted the "dispersed learning center" model. This distinction is basic to a determination of the college's orientation to its community. A college may relate to its community by directly involving itself or its students in community affairs, or by involving the community in the affairs of the college (e.g. as teachers or staff, as members of governing or policy-making bodies, etc.), or both. The accompanying table illustrates (in schematic and thus somewhat oversimplified form) the diversity of approaches in a number of community-based colleges.

Problems Facing Community-Based Colleges

Funding is a source of continuing difficulty and uncertainty for the new community-based colleges. With no claim to public financing and no sure supply of private funds, the colleges must live hand-to-mouth, relying on

limited-term government or foundation grants, plus occasional overhead-producing funded programs, to underwrite their operations. Dependence on outside funding, moreover, is always a potential threat to the independence of a college, which may become obligated to pursue policy objectives imposed by the funding agency.

In the areas of *credentials and accreditation*, many of the community-based colleges have experienced opposition from traditional institutions, which are often in a position to affect the colleges' abilities to function. The higher education professional associations, for example, tend not to be receptive to deviations from established norms; the inflexibility of their accrediting procedures and standards has led many of the community-based colleges to seek affiliation with already-established institutions. Some of these colleges look to established universities to accept their transfer students or to certify or otherwise approve their programs. The universities may agree to cooperate—often they get a share of the college's funds, or at least some public relations mileage out of it—but seldom without their own strings attached. But many old-line institutions see the new colleges as rivals for funds for their own new programs, or threats to the traditional standards and values of higher education institutions. The most frequent criticism is that the colleges are academically substandard, in program content or quality of faculty, or both.

All of these factors, which undermine the security and independence of the community-based colleges, may also combine to downgrade their viability and legitimacy in the eyes of their own communities. Many potential students want assurances that their college training will help them win jobs and positions in the marketplace outside their communities, meaning in mainstream society; potential faculty members may be looking for positions that will upgrade them professionally; and community members in general are often skeptical of one's chances for success without adapting to mainstream institutions. These doubts make *recruitment and community support* a matter of constant concern.

Conclusion

The ethnic-minority struggle in the United States has become increasingly identified as a struggle for social justice. James E. Cheek, President of

Howard University, adopts this characterization, and defines social justice "in terms of its objectives . . . as parity and equity in access to and participation in the opportunities, rewards, benefits, and powers of the American society."[64] Cultural pluralism may be viewed as the extension of social justice not just to minority or subculture individuals, but to subculture groups as such. In one formulation of this concept, cultural pluralism is social justice with an important qualifier:

> Social justice, alone, means a fair share of the pie; as a goal in the United States, it has usually meant an assimilative attitude. Cultural pluralism, on the other hand, calls unavoidably for a pluralistic viewpoint; it demands the same fair share *plus the right not to assimilate.*[65]

This study has shown the broad range of approaches now in use in the pursuit of, or in the name of, cultural pluralism in higher education and teacher training. These efforts may be sorted out by distinguishing between those directed at majorities and those aimed at minorities. Of the former variety, which include various programs to inform and sensitize white people to the characteristics and qualities of subculture groups, it must be said that, uplifting as they may be for those born into the mainstream, these efforts are of secondary importance in the eventual achievement of cultural pluralism in American society. Clearly the test of cultural pluralism is more directly dependent upon the reality of the position in society of subculture groups than it is on the state of mind of the majority population. If the rights and prerogatives of subculture groups are implicit in the concept of cultural pluralism, then equally implicit is that these be exercised not because subgroups are allowed to do so, but because they have the power to do so. For cultural

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[64] In "Foreward" to Fred E. Crossland, *Minority Access to College* (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. VIII.

[65] Unpublished paper prepared by Bruce Gaarder, U.S. Office of Education, 1971, quoted in William R. Hazard and Madelon D. Stent, "Cultural Pluralism and Schooling: Some Preliminary Observations," in Madelon D. Stent, William R. Hazard and Harry N. Rivlin, *Cultural Pluralism in Education: A Mandate for Change* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), pp. 16-17.

pluralism to be meaningful, it is necessary that the element of the dependency of minorities on the majority be reduced if not eliminated. Programs which attempt to change majority attitudes do nothing in themselves to alter the relationship of dependency, since minority groups still must depend on the majority to change (after which they must still depend on the continuing tolerance and good will of the "changed" majority).

For these reasons, it seems more realistic to look to those efforts directly involving minorities as being most conducive to the goals of cultural pluralism. Furthermore, for these efforts to take place outside the context of dependency on mainstream institutions requires that a new context (or contexts) be established, this one based on independence and self-determination for each subculture group.

> To function effectively in a pluralistic relationship, each group needs to define its own cultural base and develop a pervasive sense of cultural identity, as well as cultural unity. In order to accomplish this cultural unity, the racial and ethnic groups separate prior to negotiating back into pluralism. After separation, subsequent negotiations with others may proceed from genuine strength rather than traditional stereotyped cultural positions.[66]

The community-based colleges described in this report represent significant, self-conscious steps in this direction by members of subculture groups who have recognized the critical importance of steps like these for their own cultural survival. Not presently a threat to established power arrangements, such colleges may benefit for a time from a certain modicum of tolerance and even support from some influential quarters of mainstream society; they might also be expected to increase in number. Lessons from the past, however--most recently in the movement to set up alternative schools during the late 1960's--do not augur well for their continued development, or even survival, on their own terms. The alternate schools were able to attract the necessary funding and support up to a point, but once they began to challenge the power of already-established interests, much of that support vanished.

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[66] Hazard and Stent, *ibid.*, p. 16.

Past experience, then, would seem to indicate that alternate institutions without their own resources to guarantee autonomy or independence from eventual judgment by the mainstream may ultimately be futile or illusory as vehicles for cultural pluralism; that they can never exist, in a society as presently constituted, except at the pleasure of the mainstream. And that therefore it is power distributions and institutional structures at the societal level which must be altered if cultural pluralism is ever fully to be realized.

SUMMARY OF COMMUNITY-BASED COLLEGES

Navajo Community College, Tsaile, Navajo Nation (Arizona)

COMMUNITY SERVED	INSTITUTIONAL PRIORITIES	PROGRAM FEATURES	FUNDING	COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT	GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE	TEACHER TRAINING
Navajo Reservation	1. academic transfer program 2. vocational-technical program 3. NCC as Navajo "monument"	-Navajo Studies Program -vocational skills	-Federal NCC Bill (1971) for student support, operation & construction -private contributions -tribal grants	-Some classes & special programs held in local reservation communities	Board of Regents appointed by Tribal Council (includes 1 student)	planning stage

Lakota Higher Education Center, Pine Ridge, South Dakota

Pine Ridge Reservation (Oglala Sioux)	1. community service: provide skills & credentials 2. develop Lakota studies	-A.A. degrees in auto mechanics, plumbing, carpentry, etc. -Lakota Studies Program	-Federal grants -Foundatiion grants	-Dispersed learning centers: classes held in reservation communities at their request	Board of Directors, popularly elected in tribal elections	

Universidad de Aztlan, PO Box 428, Del Rey, California 93616

COMMUNITY SERVED	INSTITUTIONAL PRIORITIES	PROGRAM FEATURES	FUNDING	COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT	GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE	TEACHER TRAINING
Chicanos in Fresno area (agricultural and urban)	1. social & political change via community service programs 2. develop cadre for political organizing	-community studies, with work project as core	-Foundation grants -Funded programs	-All students study & work in community	Staff-selected Board: equal staff, student, community representation	"If our trainees were acceptable to the schools, we'd close down"

Malcolm-King: Harlem College Extension, 103 E. 125 Street, New York, New York 10035

Harlem, NYC (sponsored by consortium of three Catholic colleges outside Harlem)	1. offer college credit & associate degree programs to Harlem residents 2. act as college resource for Harlem	-traditionally-structured, Black-oriented, two-year college program -special programs offering credits to community groups	-NY State -U.S. Office of Education -Campaign for Human Development (Catholic bishops)	-Cooperative training program with community groups for college credit -All volunteer faculty; all office & classroom space donated	Executive Committee, including college presidents, representatives of sponsoring colleges, M-K administrators & students, community members	A.A.S. degrees in Elementary & in Early Childhood Education

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D-Q University, PO Box 409, Davis, California 95616

COMMUNITY SERVED	INSTITUTIONAL PRIORITIES	PROGRAM FEATURES	FUNDING	COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT	GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE	TEACHER TRAINING
all Chicanos and Native-Americans	1. produce scholars who will become social change agents 2. university expansion & development 3. extension programs to local communities	-Chicano & Native-American Studies Programs, mostly in planning stage	-mainly Federal grants (cutbacks pose threat)	-Plans for future satellite centers or programs in local communities	Board of Trustees, self-perpetuating (includes 2 students)	planning stage pilot program in high school on Navajo Reservation

Nairobi College, 635 Donohoe Street, East Palo Alto, California 94303

East Palo Alto, Calif. (low-income Black community)	1. produce committed, trained community leaders 2. upgrade community re: basic skills	-Black-oriented two-year academic program -basic skills; reading lab. -work-study	limited government grants & private contributions	-College of community-controlled education system -Classes, services, research in community	Nine member Board: 3 staff, 3 students, 3 community members	plans for inservice training

Universidad Boricua, 1766 Church Street, Washington, D.C. 20036

COMMUNITY SERVED	INSTITUTIONAL PRIORITIES	PROGRAM FEATURES	FUNDING	COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT	GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE	TEACHER TRAINING
local communities (first Learning Center in Brooklyn, NY	1. development of students' intellectual skills 2. reinforce students' "Puerto Ricanness"	-individualized student-designed learning contracts -modular instruction	-grants from foundations, corporations, federal agencies	-Use of community as learning resource	Board of Trustees in Washington, D.C.	recruits school paraprofessionals as students

Rough Rock, MCTEC

Navajos in Rough Rock school district on reservation	(MCTEC) 1. train local Navajos to be teachers in R.R. school 2. train non-Navajo teachers	-classroom-based teacher pre- & in-service training	-Rough Rock School District -Univ. of New Mexico	-Program of local community-controlled school districts; recruits & trains district residents -Local paraprofessionals trained as teachers	Training program under community-controlled local school board	Teacher training program for local population

Experimental & Bilingual Institute, 177 E. 104 Street, New York, New York 10029

COMMUNITY SERVED	INSTITUTIONAL PRIORITIES	PROGRAM FEATURES	FUNDING	COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT	GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE	TEACHER TRAINING
East Harlem, NYC (Puerto Ricans & other Spanish-dominant students)	1. College feeder program 2. motivate students; orient them to community needs	-remedial & "college articulated" courses, accepted for credit by City Univ.	-U.S. Office of Education -Model Cities -private grants	-Remedial program & all support services (counselling, tutoring, library) are available to community -Seminars, workshops, conferences, consulting services for community	Governing Council: 8 students, 4 faculty, 3 administrators	none

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION AND LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL POLICY

Lawrence D. Freeman

Illinois State Department of Education

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION AND LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL POLICY*

Lawrence D. Freeman
Illinois State Department of Education

In order to provide a backdrop to this discussion of some of the ways legal developments may impact on the future of education, I wish to provide some exemplary statements of the ideologies that have motivated our thinking about education. The first statement appears in a work written in 1932 and entitled *Rural Sociology: The Farm Family Institution*; while it does not bear directly on education, its educational implications are fairly obvious:

> Backward communities and groups, rural and urban, need not be made more happy; they need rather, for the sake of progress, to be freed from their backward condition. In an ideal society, there would be no backward communities. The condition of backwardness consists essentially in narrowness of outlook due to a limited range of suggestions, brought about, in turn, by a high degree of isolation from the general current of human thought. A legitimate and constructive aim of social reform is to break through such walls of isolation, wherever they may be found, carrying to those within as large a fund of ideas as may be available. This will not in general increase happiness, but it will bring an increase in richness of human experience. . . . From the standpoint of the larger society, the freeing of backward groups from their backwardness results in an increase of efficiency through bringing more individuals into effective service of the whole. From the standpoint of the individual who experiences

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this change, it means a more abundant life, which he may or may not think of as involving a net increase of happiness.[1]

The second exemplary statement is explicitly about education and provided by Alan Cartter:

> As higher education continues to expand, a large proportion of the students who come to us are without the family and community background which would provide them with intellectual curiosity and a strong moral sense. We are expected to give them a purpose to live for and standards to live by, to encourage those attributes of being which are associated with the cultured gentleman. . . .[2]

The final exemplary statement occurs in a 1936 court opinion:

> . . . we are self-governing people, and an education prepares the boys and girls for the duties and obligations of citizenship. Neither the schools nor the state can carry on without rules or laws regulating the conduct of the student or citizen, and those who are taught obedience to the rules and regulations of the school will be less apt to violate the laws of the state.[3]

The educational ideologies expressed in these three statements have informed the actions of those responsible for educational policy-making in the United States. Generically, these ideologies might be regarded as variants of the "melting pot" ideology that has increasingly come under attack by a variety of persons. My purpose here is to outline several legal grounds on which this ideology has been and will be challenged and to spell out some of the implications of successful challenges. Certainly, the "melting pot"

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[1] Roy H. Holmes, *Rural Sociology: The Farm Family Institution* (New York: 1932).

[2] "University Teaching and Excellence," *Improving College Teaching*, ed. Calvin B. T. Lee (Washington, D.C.: 1967), p. 160.

[3] *Byrd v. Begley*, 90 S.W. 2d. 371 (1936).

ideology provided some of the impetus in all the states (except Mississippi), finding it in the state's interest to both compel children to attend school and prevent them from working. At the same time, through the exercise of its police powers, each of the states has developed a system for selecting and licensing those entrusted with the education of the state's young. There arises out of these interrelated state actions, a complex web of issues. In other instances, the state has sought at least in theory to protect the public interest through occupational and professional licensing. But in no other situation besides education, other than legal declaration of insanity or commission of a crime, is an individual compelled to use the services of one or more specific licensed practitioners. Short of extraordinary circumstances or an unprecedented and successful *habeas corpus* action, every child must attend school. One would consequently expect that the process for designating and licensing of teachers would be extremely rigorous. Not only is protection of the public interest at stake. There is also at stake a state interest so powerful and necessary as to justify compelling an individual to use the services of a particular practitioner, or group of practitioners.

Certification Must Protect Public Interest

The state's exercise of its police power in licensing teachers is "legitimate, moral, and rational, only to the extent that teacher certification protects and promotes some demonstrably legitimate public interest of the people for whose welfare and benefit state accredited schools are established."[4] More specifically, one would expect that in protecting and promoting that interest, the licensing of teachers would be based on demonstrated competency, both general competency and competency to assist in the intellectual, emotional, and/or vocational growth and development of a child in a specific neighborhood and culture; one would not expect that the state would seek to protect its interest by relying on mere completion of an approved program of training. Given the overriding interest of the state in educating its citizens, one would expect, in short, that the licensing of those undertaking that task would display the character of the state's interest. Minimally, one would expect the following:

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[4] "Basic Legal Issues in New York State on Teacher Certification," (Study Commission: East Coast Network, September, 1973).

(1) That there would exist rather detailed descriptions of what the job of teaching constitutes, not highly generalized descriptions, but institutionally and job specific descriptions.

(2) That the assessment of candidates for licensing would be conducted in terms of just job descriptions.

(3) That the assessment of educational personnel would be recurrent and conducted in terms of the original, or evolving, job descriptions.

As we all know, this is not universally nor even typically the case. The author is aware of no instances in which a school system has prepared adequate job descriptions. At best, present teacher licensing procedures can claim something approaching content validity, the sort of validity resulting from *subjective* comparison between prior education and experience (and in some instances test results) and a specific job, the nature of which, as I have indicated, is either generally unknown or largely undescribed.

It is in this context that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its subsequent amendment becomes important and provides one of the bases for challenging the "melting pot" ideology that has motivated our general educational policies, including teacher credentialling. Title VII originally offered protection to several groups from various forms of discriminatory employment practices in private enterprise, and, then, by amendment, provided the same protections from discriminatory practices of state and local governmental agencies, including schools and colleges. As the result of litigation to seek enforcement of Title VII, the Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke Power Company* held that procedures in assessing prospective employees or present employees for promotion must be *neutral* with respect to factors such as test scores and educational background, *except* when the results of tests or educational background have a manifest relationship to performance on the job.[5]

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[5]*Griggs v. Duke Power Company*, 401 U.S. 421 (1971).

Case Cites Equal Employment Guidelines

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's Guidelines for Employee Selection, cited approvingly by the court in *Griggs*, provide three ways of validating selection criteria: content, construct, and predictive validation.[6] Essentially content validation involves the demonstration of a "rational" relationship between the criteria—as in the content of a test or an educational program—and the job. Construct validation proceeds in similar fashion in that a rational relationship is sought between personal attributes and the requirements of job. Predictive validation, the most preferred of the three forms of validation, involves demonstrating that the on-the-job performance of groups selected according to stated criteria is superior to that of randomly selected groups.

When one begins to look at the profession of teaching, at whatever level, it is almost immediately apparent that present employee selection procedures in educational institutions are likely to be suspect. The response of the American Council on Education is suggestive; its Task Force on Equal Employment in its recent mailing to constituent members indicates that it is preparing documentation intended for its members' use to show that the Ph.D. is a "*bona fide*" employment criteria.[7]

Recent and current Title VII litigation with respect to teacher licensing and employment practices has arisen against specific school boards and particularly against the use of allegedly non-job-related tests. It is important, however, to realize that the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and the Supreme Court have so interpreted the legislative intent of Title VII

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[6]The EEOC Guidelines can be found in *Federal Register*, Vol. 35, No. 149, for August 1, 1970, pp. 12333ff, or in CFR, Title 29, Chapter XIV, Part 1607. See Michael J. Malbin, "Employment Report/Proposed federal guidelines on hiring could have far-reaching impact," *National Journal Reports*, Vol. 5, No. 39 (September 29, 1973), pp. 1429-34, on proposed revisions of guidelines.

[7]Memorandum from David Frohnmayer, dated November 8, 1972. "The Task Force hopes that its explanation of the Ph.D. in relation to faculty qualifications will serve as a helpful model for similar institutional statements on other degrees that a college or university may wish to claim as BFOQ's [*bona fide* occupational qualifications]."

as to include more than use of unvalidated tests. Sheila Huff, in an important but uncirculated paper on the educational implications of Title VII, notes that "*specific educational requirements* are also included in the [EEOC] definition of the term 'test.'"[8] The Supreme Court in *Griggs* is more explicit:

> The facts of this case demonstrate the inadequacy of broad and general testing devices as well as the infirmity of using diplomas or degrees as fixed measures of capability . . . diplomas and tests are useful servants, but Congress has mandated the common-sense proposition that they are not to become masters of reality.[9]

And though recent litigation has named only individual employers as defendants, Benjamin Shimberg and his colleagues in *Occupational Licensing: Practices and Policies* anticipate that "the social and legal pressures that have heretofore been placed on private employers to use fair employment practices may now be expected to be exerted with equal or greater force on licensing boards and other public agencies."[10] Though the courts are likely to take the position that the EEOC guidelines "must not be interpreted or applied so rigidly as to cease functioning as a guide and become an absolute mandate or prescription," it is equally clear that overreliance on a minimal sort of content or construct validity in licensing and employing of teachers will be challenged, successfully I think.[11]

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[8]"The New Realism in Employment Practices: Implications for Education of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," Working Draft (Syracuse University Research Corporation: Educational Policy Research Center, 1973).

[9]The application of this principle in the case *Buckner v. Goodyear* [339F. Supp. 1108 (1972)] led the court to find that some required courses in an apprenticeship program were not job-related: "The Company has failed to persuade the court that English compositon and Principles of Economics are sufficiently related to the performance of various craft jobs to require their successful completion. . . . Even with such corrections [deletion of the requirements] . . . it is not clear that . . . the other academic courses are necessary to the training of potential craftsmen. Helpful and desirable, yes; necessary, perhaps not." (Any attempt to construe the meaning of this passage should, however, heed footnote 19 in the opinion.)

[10]Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 202.

[11]*U.S. v. Georgia Power Company*, U.S. Court of Appeals, February 14, 1973; quoted from Huff's paper cited in footnote 8 above.

Licensing, Hiring, Promotion Being Reshaped

What this suggests, then, is that the licensing, hiring, and promotion of educational personnel will be considerably reshaped, either voluntarily or under court order. There are, of course, several efforts to create new sorts of programs preparing educational personnel and new ways of assessing candidates for licensure. Generally, these are known as "competency" or "performance" based systems. These systems, however, may not be the adequate solution that some of their advocates claim. William O. Robinson's commentary on the paper, *The Power of Competency-Based Teacher Education,* produced by the Committee on National Priorities in Education, is instructive. He argues that the preferred and more rigorous criterion-referenced or predictive validation of teacher education and licensing requires establishing validity not only in terms of the *effects* of a teacher education *program* on the competencies of a *prospective teacher* but in terms of the effects of the teacher prepared on student achievement and well being.[12] Robinson proposes a two prong test of the validity of teacher licensing practices: (1) the general competence of the candidate in some field or area and (2) the effect of the teacher on the student. The latter test is of particular interest since what it requires is development of a principle which I will label "a principle of benign effect."

In formulating such a principle I would like to begin by calling attention to a policy statement adopted by the Executive Committee of the Conference on College Composition and Communication in the Spring of 1972:

> We affirm the student's right to his own language—the dialect of his nurture in which he finds his identity and style. Any claim that only one dialect is acceptable should be viewed as an attempt of one social group to exert its dominance over another, not as either true or sound advice to speakers and writers, nor as moral advice to human beings. A nation which is proud of its diverse heritage and of its cultural and racial variety ought to preserve its heritage of dialects. We affirm strongly the need for

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12. "The Power of Competency-Based Teacher Education: Views of a Civil Rights Lawyer" (unpublished paper).

teachers to have such training as will enable them to support this goal of diversity and this right of the student to his own language.[13]

This statement may serve to initiate our consideration of what a "principle of benign effect" might look like, particularly since it implicitly formulates a principle of neutrality with respect to language. The statement calls upon teachers, administrators, and others not to deny to students their language nor to disparage the language or dialect of any student.

Chinese Students Ask for Extra Instruction

In this context, the recent Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* is helpful. In this case, the petitioners, who were representative of 1800 other non-English-speaking Chinese in San Francisco sought to require the State of California and the San Francisco Unified School District to provide instruction permitting them to comprehend and benefit from classes taught exclusively in the English language.[14] The lower court had held that "these Chinese-speaking students—by receiving the same education made available upon the same terms and conditions to the other tens of thousands of students in . . . the District—are legally receiving all their rights to an education and to equal educational opportunities." Though it avoided constitutional questions, the Supreme Court overruled the lower court and held that the State and the San Francisco schools must provide the kind of instruction sought by the petitioners.

This decision appears to substantially increase the significance of an earlier Texas district court memorandum opinion. In the aftermath of a decision forcing desegregation of the San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District in Texas, Judge William Wayne Justice provided a memorandum clarifying the earlier court order. Justice acknowledges being particularly impressed by the testimony of Jose Cardenas regarding "cultural

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[13] *College Composition and Communication*, October, 1972.

[14] *Lau v. Nichols*, 42 L.W. 4165, U.S., January 22, 1974.

incompatibilities" which prevent Mexican-American students from generally being able to "benefit from an educational program designed primarily to meet the needs of so-called Anglo-Americans." Subsequently, Justice wrote: "under the circumstances here . . . little could be more clear to the court than the need . . . for special educational consideration to be given to the Mexican-American students in assisting them in adjusting to those parts of their new school environment which present a cultural and linguistic shock. Equally clear, however, is the need to avoid creation of a stigma of inferiority as to 'the badges and indicia of slavery' spoken of in *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education.* To avoid this result, the Anglo-American students too must be called upon to learn to adjust to their different linguistic and cultural attributes."[15]

Both the decision in *Lau* and the Texas opinion have immediate, and I think, clear consequences for the certification and employment of teachers. The consequences are that these findings together with the application of the EEOC guidelines (and a modicum of reason) require that in the schools attended by these students whose linguistic and cultural attributes are not those of the dominant cultures, the teachers have to be fluent in the relevant non-English language(s), and probably be bearers of the students' culture. I cannot conceive how a teacher can have a benign effect on a student's achievement and well-being if he or she does not speak the only language possessed by the child. The significance of these cases and of their implications for the licensing and employment of educational personnel is not limited to Texas or San Francisco. In 1968, it was estimated that some three million children were speaking non-English languages as their native tongue, that 75 to 80 per cent of all black children of school age command a southern rural or northern urban dialect of English, and that approximately six million American children "are taught by people who 'do not know their language.'"[16]

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[15]Memorandum opinion in *United States v. State of Texas* (U.S. District Court for Eastern Division of Texas, Tyler Division), Civil Action No. 5281; reprinted in *The University Can't Train Teachers* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Study Commission, 1971), pp. 53ff.

[16]*The Education Professions . . . 1968* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of HEW, USOE [OE-58032]), p. 42.

'Learning-By-Doing' Ideal for Amish

But languages and dialects do not exist in a vacuum. Attached to language and dialect are other cultural patterns–cognitive, affective, gestural, kinesic, and social. The question we must ask is whether our schools can continue to pursue a melting pot ideology and simultaneously enable teachers and other educational personnel to benignly affect students. In one case the Supreme Court has apparently ruled that the schools cannot. I refer to the momentous decision in *Wisconsin v. Yoder.* In this case, the court exempted Amish children from Wisconsin's state law compelling attendance at school after completion of the eighth grade. The decision was grounded rather narrowly–and I emphasize this–on the "free exercise" clause of the First Amendment. What is intriguing for our purposes, however, is that the court found it necessary to balance state interest and individual rights and in doing so found the testimony of Donald A. Erickson persuasive:

> [He] . . . testified that the system of learning-by-doing was an "ideal system" of education in terms of preparing Amish children for life as adults in the Amish community. . . . As he put it, "these people aren't purporting to be learned people, and it seems to me that the self-sufficiency of the community is the best evidence I can point to. . . ."

Subsequently, the court writes:

> Insofar as the State's claim rests on the view that a brief additional period of formal education is imperative to enable the Amish to participate effectively and intelligently in our democratic process, it must fail. The Amish alternative to formal secondary school education has enabled them to function effectively in their day-to-day life under self-imposed limitations on relations with the world, and to survive and prosper in contemporary society as a separate, sharply identifiable, and highly sufficient community for more than 200 years. In itself, this is strong evidence that they are capable of fulfilling the social and political responsibilities of citizenship without compelled attendance beyond the eighth grade at the price of jeopardizing

their free exercise of religious belief.[17]

In this balancing of individual and community interest against that of the state, the court in effect recognizes an old distinction in the history of law, a distinction between customary law (consuetudines) and official law (leges).[18] That is, the court in this instance recognizes the primacy of the custom of the place over official law, since the state failed to show a rational and substantial interest.

This case adumbrates the possibility of litigation on the basis not only of the First Amendment, but on a number of other legal bases in attempts to secure recognition of customary over official law—recognition of one's right to his language and culture.

The recognition of custom (consuetudines) is not without precedent in the history of American legal action, even with respect to schools. I call your attention to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo effected between the United States and Mexico in 1848. In the original version of Article IX of the treaty, "all ecclesiastics and religious corporations or communities, as well in the discharge of the offices of their ministry," will be protected from interference by the American government. The guarantee extends to "all temples, houses and edifices dedicated to the Roman Catholic worship as well as property destined to its support, or to that of schools, hospitals, and other foundations for charitable and beneficient purpose."

This guarantee is a companion to a provision providing that the Mexicans, so electing, shall be incorporated "into the Union of the United States and be admitted . . . to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States according to the principles of the Constitution."

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[17] *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U.S. 205; reprinted, in part, in *Of Education and Human Community* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Study Commission, 1973).

[18] On the history of the distinction between custom and law, see Paul Vinogradoff, *Custom and Right*, particularly Chapter II (Oslo, 1925).

'Religious and Customary' Institutions Protected

Though the United States by amendment substituted a new text, a protocol indicates that the new text is to be so construed as to include "all the privileges and guarantees, civil, political and religious, which would have been possessed by the inhabitants of the ceded territory if [the original text] had been retained."[19] While this article does not guarantee a right to bilingualism in government or in education, it does entail two things: (1) it guarantees the neutral incorporation of Mexicans, so electing, into the body politic of the United States; by neutral incorporation I mean, incorporation without respect to language, traditions, or customs; and (2) in its provision regarding institutions of religion guarantees protection to the institutions supporting the religious and customary life of the people. Recognition of the differences in customs and traditions, as well as in language, repeatedly occurs in the controversies surrounding the granting of statehood to Arizona and New Mexico; one document of the period reads as follows:

> . . . the people of New Mexico . . . are not only different in race and largely in language, but have entirely different customs, laws, and ideals, and would have but little prospect of successful amalgamation.[20]

This, as an instance of issues arising out of the statehood controversy, suggests that the treaty, while not explicitly guaranteeing perpetuation and protection of Mexican language, customs and culture, took cognizance of the attributes of the people being incorporated into the United States.

It appears debatable whether the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guarantees protection of the Mexican-American's right to his language, culture, and

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[19] *El Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848* (Telefact Foundation in cooperation with the California State Department of Education, 1968), p. 108.

[20] "Protest Against Union of Arizona with New Mexico" in U.S. Senate Document 216, 59th Congress, 1st Session, February 12, 1906; quoted from *The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican Americans in the Southwest, Report III* (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, May, 1972), p. 77. See pp. 76ff for a "legal and historical backdrop." The authors of this report assert that "the treaty also guaranteed certain civil, political, and religious rights to the Spanish speaking colonists and *attempted to protect their culture and language*" (p. 76).

customs. The Ninth Amendment to the federal Constitution, however, appears to provide substantial grounds for claiming such a right—grounds available to all U.S. citizens. This amendment provides that "the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." The meaning of this amendment has not been clearly established. We are somewhat at sea without the anchor of precedents, though that may not be all bad, given the history of the construction of the Fourteenth Amendment.[21] There appear to be essentially two ways of understanding this amendment. Without rehearsing the technical aspects of either, they can be summarized as follows:

(1) The first method of construing the Ninth Amendment is in essence to regard the amendment as one methodological in intent; it assumes that the first eight amendments are to be interpreted not as discrete and separate rights, but as constituting in themselves the source of law and to be interpreted so as to control and determine historically novel legal problems.[22]

(2) The amendment can be taken as securing the fundamental

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[21] The invocation of the Ninth Amendment to protect one's right to his own language is suggested by Edwin F. Klotz in his essay, "The Honest and the Glorious," in *El Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848*, p. 24. Anthony Garvin, "Educational Policy Implications of a Legal Theory of Public vs. Private Benefits" [discussion draft] (Syracuse, N.Y.: Educational Policy Research Center, October, 1972), p. 16, notes that "the discovery of the Ninth Amendment by legal theorists could have an enormous impact on educational policy."

The following list of commentators on the Ninth Amendment is fairly exhaustive, though it does not include but one who wrote subsequent to *Griswold v. Connecticut:* Knowlton H. Kelsey, "The Ninth Amendment of the Federal Constitution," 11 *Indiana Law Journal* 309 (1936); Bennett Patterson, *The Forgotten Ninth Amendment* (Indianapolis, 1955); Mitchell Franklin, "The Relation of the Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments," 4 *Howard Law Journal* 170 (1958); Note, "The Uncertain Renaissance of the Ninth Amendment," 33 *University of Chicago Law Review* 814 (1966); Redlich, "Are There Certain Rights . . . Retained by the People?" 37 *N.Y.U. Law Review* 787 (1962); Mitchell Franklin, "The Ninth Amendment as a Civil Law Method and Implications for Republican Form of Government . . ." 40 *Tulane Law Review* 487 (1966).

[22] See last Franklin citation in Footnote 21.

and inherent rights of persons that are neither enumerated in the Constitution nor ceded to the federal government, or, with the addition of the Fourteenth Amendment, to the states. Further, one commentator has argued that the Ninth Amendment was intended to protect the unenumerated rights, not only as they have now appeared, but also as such rights may appear as history and the future unfold: "As the race becomes more evolved, and as the respect for the dignity of human life increases; as we become more intelligent and spiritual beings, then we shall learn more of the fundamental truths of human nature."[23]

While these methodological considerations are of great import and significance, it appears sufficient for now to note that both can be used to construct arguments securing for the individual a right to his own language (including here not only its verbal components but the associated kinesic and gestural systems) and to his own culture, except in instances in which the state can demonstrate an overriding and compelling interest. Interpreted in accord with the second method of interpretation, the Ninth Amendment recognizes the superiority of custom over official law, in some instances. Thus, in his opinion in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, Justice Goldberg interprets the Ninth Amendment so as to find protection of the general right of privacy, and particularly the privacy of marital intercourse. The sources of this right, according to the judge, are two: "the traditions and [collective] conscience" of the people and a theory of "fundamental personal rights":

> In determining which rights are fundamental, judges are not left at large to decide cases in the light of personal and private notions. Rather they must look to the "traditions and [collective] conscience of our people to determine whether a principle is so rooted [there] . . . as to be ranked as fundamental" . . . "Liberty also gains content from the emanations . . . of specific guarantees" and "from experience with the requirements of a free society."[24]

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[23] Patterson, *The Forgotten Ninth Amendment*, p. 51.

[24] *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 at 493.

Customs and Mores of Community Recognized

The significance of this interpretation of the Ninth Amendment lies in the recognition of the legal force of customs and traditions. Further, in a widely publicized and commented upon decision regarding obscenity, one of the tests is whether the material under consideration is obscene when "community standards" are applied; finding that a national standard is "hypothetical and unascertainable," the court resorts to recognition of the customs and mores of the community.[25] Thus, what is obscene in Sioux City may or may not be obscene in San Francisco, may or may not be obscene in Burlington, Vermont.

The line of argument I have incompletely developed supports an assertion of an individual's right to his culture. If a court can write that "the law should be construed in reference to the habits of business prevalent in the country at the time it was enacted" and that "the law was not made to create or shape the habits of business but to regulate them, as then known to exist"[26] certainly, with respect to language and culture, education laws must be so construed as to protect the linguistic and cultural habits of individuals and groups.

Thus, in the absence of a compelling state interest, the character of which I cannot imagine, the state must be *neutral* with respect to language and culture. Any other position requires development of arguments demonstrating the state's interest in depriving an individual (or a collection of individuals) of his most private habits, customs, and mores, an interest that could hardly be said to secure "benign effect." The concept of neutrality is not foreign to our traditions or judicial opinions. The implications of the "wholesome neutrality" of which the Court spoke in *Abington School District v. Schempp* are perhaps helpfully clarified in the following passage from Justice Clark's opinion:

> . . . it might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of

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[25] *Miller v. California*, 93 Sup. Ct. 2607.

[26] Patterson, p. 56.

religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. *Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religions when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education may not be effected consistent with the First Amendment.*[27]

State Must Remain 'Neutral'

Here the court requires that the state be neutral with respect to one of the significant features of culture--religion; the state can neither promote nor disparage a particular religion. Applied to the language and cultural policy of the state, at least in its educational system, the principle enunciated here would go as follows: There is nothing to *prevent* the teaching of dialects, languages, or cultures other than those possessed by the student so long as they are presented *objectively* as instruments or understandings useful, and perhaps necessary, in social and political intercourse. The corollary to this principle is that no person can be differentially incorporated into the school's activities (or society in general) on the basis of "non-preferred" linguistic or cultural attributes; that is, his language or culture cannot be denied him nor disparaged, nor can he be denied benefits because of either. The implication of this argument for the licensing and certification of teachers is that it must be *neutral* with respect to language and culture, just as it is presently neutral with respect to religion.

But obviously, a requirement of neutrality cannot be imposed on a specific school in a particular community; schooling is in its essence a cultural activity. This observation, however, need not undermine an argument for "cultural neutrality" at the state level. Here the obscenity case referred to above is helpful. In that case, you will recall, the court invoked community standards to test whether materials are obscene. This suggests that variation in cultural patterns, including language and other customs, can be responded to at the local level. Or put another way: just as a national standard for obscenity is "hypothetical and unascertainable," so a national or

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[27] *Abington School District v. Schempp,* 374 U.S. 203.

state standard for the conduct and content of education is hypothetical and unascertainable. Our historic and illusory search for the universal master teacher and curriculum ought to be sufficient evidence to support such an observation. At the local level, as opposed to the state level, it is permissive, indeed obligatory, that the schools be responsive to the personhood of the student and to community standards—its traditions, collective conscience, mores, and habits. Indeed without being responsive to the latter, education, in any meaningful sense, may well be impossible.

Murray Wax assists in clarifying what I am talking about when he speaks of his experiences on the Pine Ridge:

> In these classrooms [of Indian children] what I and other observers have repeatedly discovered is that the children simply organize themselves so that effective control of the classroom passes in a subtle fashion into their hands. . . . [If the observer of such classrooms] knows what to look for, he will perceive that the reticence of the Indian children has nothing to do with personal shyness and everything to do with the relationship between the child and his peers in that classroom. For [they] exert on each other a quiet but powerful pressure so that no one of them is willing to collaborate with the teacher. . . . What the children primarily resist is the authority of the teacher and his (or her) intervention into their collective lives.[28]

In the situation Wax describes, education cannot be properly said to be going on. Rather this situation suggests that to create the conditions necessary for what can properly be called "education," it is necessary to attend to the character of the indigenous collective life of these children, the notions of authority and social organization that they bring with them into the educational context. Further, there is an emerging body of research suggesting that learning is at least facilitated, and perhaps made possible, when the didactic modes of the educational institution are consonant with the didactic

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[28] "How Should Schools Be Held Accountable?" in *Education for 1984 and After* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Study Commission, 1971), pp. 63-64.

modes employed in settings other than those of formal education.[29] Wax's observations and other research suggest that the educational personnel and the organization of the educational enterprise must, in order to be effective and to benignly affect students, be consonant, or consistent, with the cultural patterns or milieu of the community in which the students live.

Implications for Licensing Numerous

The implications of this argument for the education of educational personnel licensing, and, more generally, the conduct of state supported education appear to be numerous and profound. Here I will confine myself to the preparation and licensing of educational personnel. Under the conditions established in my argument, an adequate licensing system would almost of necessity be comprised of two tiers.[30]

(1) The first tier would license a person to teach on the basis of demonstrated competence in an intellectual, cultural, or vocational area. This would permit an individual to teach something of conceivable worth and value to someone or some group, with the notions of worth and value broadly interpreted.

(2) The second tier would certify that a person has demonstrated competence in teaching children in a specific kind of

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[29]Peggy R. Sanday, "Cultural and Structural Pluralism in the U.S." (unpublished position paper prepared for the Committee on Cultural Pluralism of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers).

[30]Two-tier or two-step licensing systems of a somewhat different sort have been proposed by others. See Public Education Association of New York City, "Memorandum Regarding Reform of Personnel Selection Procedures for New York City Public School System By Establishment of a New Two-Step Performance Based Certification System" (memorandum prepared at the request of the New York State Assembly Education Committee, Constance Cook, Chmn., September 15, 1973); and see Metropolitan Research Center, *A Possible Reality of High Academic Achievement for the Students of Public Elementary and Junior High Schools of Washington, D.C.*, 1970 (reprinted in Committee Print, Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, U.S. Senate, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, September, 1970).

neighborhood or community. Put another way, the person would be certified as having the capacity to benignly affect the achievement and well-being of children in that neighborhood.

The crucial principle at the second tier is that of "benign influence or effect." Benign influence or effect includes the enhancement of the individual student's competence–physical, intellectual, psychological, and vocational–and indirectly the decency and humaneness of the community. This interpretation of "benign influence" is consistent with the court's considerations in *Wisconsin v. Yoder* in which it relied heavily on the self-sufficient character of the Amish community.

Now we can turn to the question of how educational personnel might be prepared. But not directly, for it takes no perceptive observer to discover that in the United States there are few communities comparable to the Amish community–few communities so cohesive, so self-sufficient, so decent and humane *in their own terms.* Indeed, most communities presently appear to be characterized by various sorts of alienation, by troubling and disrupting discontinuities and incompatibilities between and among significant segments of their primary activities–between and among work, education, and the expressive and imaginative life. Thus, the character of educating educational personnel has to be such that it enables them to assist in a community-building process, a process that may well have to be undertaken *in order to secure benign effect on the achievement and well-being of the student.*

The foregoing considerations suggest the need for considerable reconstruction of the education of educational personnel. One model for preservice and in-service education would have the following features:

(1) The second tier of the licensing process I outlined above, and the recurrent licensing and evaluation of teachers, requires a structure I will call an "examining school," a context in which the individual would be evaluated from several perspectives–those of administrators, peers, parents, and community people–for competency to teach in a specific kind of neighborhood or culture.

(2) In order to assist candidates to prepare for this level of certification, programs might be developed–though completion of them would not be mandatory–and perhaps conducted by the "examining

school." These programs might well have the following features:

(a) Education that would assist prospective teachers to "anthropologize" the specific community or region in which they are teaching or in which they intend to teach.

(b) Education that would provide tools to assist in responding to and bridging discontinuities among work, education, and the expressive and imaginative life of the community.

This learning and education would be heavily experiential:

(1) Experience in a range of institutions or sectors of the community other than schools in order to develop understandings of the ways in which these institutions produce "trouble" for one another and the community, or the ways in which they collaborate in the production of actions leading to realization of commonly shared goals and aspirations;

(2) Experience and theoretical assistance in attending to the private and shared mythologies held by members of the community or region regarding work, education and play. This would involve careful work analyzing the rule structures and value postulates implicit in primary community activities in these areas;

(3) Experience and theoretical assistance regarding the role of the imaginative and expressive life of individuals and communities in celebrating the past and constructing a vision of the future, both private and public, a celebration and a vision studied in relationship to work and education, particularly as it provides cognitive structures for interpreting both;

(4) Experience leading to acquisition of skills and tools to deal with discontinuities and alienation, probably in the form of looking at studies of societies and groups that have successfully overcome these sorts of difficulties and of experience in contexts in which discontinuities and alienation exist, with assistance to address them.

I propose such a model of preparatory and in-service programs since

the features of it appear essential to developing an adequate sense or understanding of the character of what benign effect on an individual and of what a decent and humane community (as opposed to meaningless generalized propositions about it) might look like. I also regard these features as essential to developing the skills and competencies necessary to simultaneously assist in a community-building process and benignly affect individual students.

Could Improve Character of Civic Life

The implications of the argument I have developed hold out a vision of the future and, consequently, of education that runs directly counter to Mr. Holmes' assertion that, *for the sake of progress,* "backward communities need not be made more happy" but "to be freed from their backwardness." Certainly Mr. Cartter's "attributes of being which are associated with the cultured gentleman" are, except in a few and rare instances, clearly irrelevant, if not detrimental and destructive. But acting on the implications of the argument I have laid down would promote the well-being and the improvement of the character of our civic life, a theme running through the various education cases.[31]

I have perhaps been tempted to conclude too soon, for while I have suggested a configuration of legal constraints within which education will have to be conducted in the future, there remains a rather troublesome problem that has its source in *Brown v. Board of Education* and its progeny. The problem is suggested in a recent district court decision in *Hunnicutt v. Burge.*[32] In this case, twenty-nine white taxpayers in Georgia initiated

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[31] The efforts of the Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship of the ABA should not be overlooked in this connection. This Committee under the direction of Joel Henning, Esq., seeks to foster development and implementation of law-related curricula and teaching practices designed to provide students with the intellectual skills and attitudes necessary for responsible and effective citizenship in an American society governed by rule of law.

[32] *Hunnicutt v. Burge,* 356 F. Supp. 1227, 1973. For commentary on a similar situation – Black House and Casa de la Raza in the Berkeley Experimental School District – see Susan Frelich Appleton, "Alternative Schools for Minority Students: The Constitution, the Civil Rights Act, and the Berkeley Experiment," 61 *California Law Review* 858, 1973.

litigation against the Board of Regents of the University of Georgia, claiming that Fort Valley State, a state supported institution with an exclusively black student body, is academically inferior and inherently and unlawfully unequal. The court found for the plaintiffs and ordered the Board of Regents to "eliminate the design for black students." Further, the court observed that the academic inferiority of Fort Valley State and its substantial production of teachers (who are subsequently licensed by the state) means that students in public schools in the State of Georgia are being denied equal protection under the state's laws governing the licensing of teachers.

The court here is relying heavily on the principles enunciated in *Brown*, and its application of them appears to invalidate and undermine the observations and arguments presented earlier in this paper (and to contradict other court decisions.) The problem emerging here is how to secure "equal educational opportunity" and at the same time achieve the conditions necessary for what might be properly called education or, in other words, make it possible to secure equal opportunity and simultaneously initiate a community-building process and enable teachers to benignly affect students. This problem is of considerable magnitude and cannot be resolved here, but seems to have its source in what is an unworkable notion of "equality." For "equality" as used in this context is used analogously with "equality" in mathematical language.

Current 'Equality' Concept Unworkable

For a variety of reasons such a notion appears inadequate whether one seeks to measure equality in terms of inputs (as in accrediting and certification) or in terms of output (as in standardized testing). And our experience with "remedial" or "compensatory" education suggests that the current concept of "equality" at a practical level is unworkable, if not destructive. It seems to me that instead of employing a mathematical notion of equality, we might well, following the lead of David Hawkins, employ instead another mathematical analogy, that of "commensurability." Recognizing that human beings are congenitally incommensurable—never indistinguishable or identical—Hawkins argues:

> The postulate of incommensurability . . . takes children as congenitally varied rather than "unequal," and raises questions

about the *differential* effect of earlier environment in relation to the kinds of learning it has supported or inhibited. It underlines the importance of local and dependent curricular and instructional choices, to make the curricular spiral tangent at many points to the individual lives of children, to the educative resources of *their* total environment which *they* know or can be helped to discover. . . . This proposition is no less important for the education of "advantaged" children; it is only at present less in the political focus.[33]

He continues,

> But the meaning of incommensurability is that diverse children can attain to a common culture–a common world of meanings and skills, of intellectual tools, moral commitments, and aesthetic involvements. Individual development *can* complement individual differences, but only through a matching diversity of learning styles and strategies. Children can learn equally, in general, only as they learn differently. The more constraints there are toward single-track preprogrammed instruction, the more predictably will the many dimensions of individual variety–congenitally and individually evolved–express themselves as a large rank-order variance in learning.

He concludes his exploration of the notion of incommensurability in the following way:

> Human beings are valued within a community for their useful differences . . . as sources or resources of skill, of aesthetic expression, or moral or intellectual authority. It is not difference as such which we value, but individuality–the unique personal style and synthesis which interests us in each other as subjects of scrutiny, of testing, of emulation, or repudiation. Recognition of

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33. "Human Nature and the Scope of Education," *Philosophical Redirection of Educational Research*, 71st Yearbook of the National Society of the Study of Education (Chicago, 1972), pp. 301-03.

> individuality completes what I mean by the postulate of incommensurability. The character which members of our own species possess—what we term individuality—implies neither dominance nor identity, but equivalence within a domain of relations sustained by individual diversity. If the old word *equality* should be used in this sense, it is the equality of craftsmen working at different tasks and with different skills, but with plans and tools congruent enough to provide endless analogies and endless diversions. Or, it is the equality of authors who read other authors' books but must each, in the end, write his own.

"Equal opportunity" in light of the postulate of incommensurability requires providing a wide range of diversity in that opportunity. Thus, judgment concerning "equality" among institutions and the competency of individual teachers can be formulated against no mere hypothetical and unascertainable national or statewide standard of "equality" of inputs or outputs. Such formulations must, rather, be formulated against the prerequisites for the sufficiency of the individual and decent and humane communities.

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